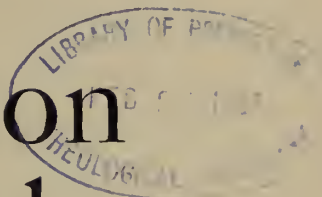


The Princeton Theological Review



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The Princeton Theological Review

OCTOBER, 1928

JEREMIAH'S PLAINT AND ITS ANSWER

In the third verse of the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah we have a prophet's report of divine speech heard in a revelation-sleep. The content of what was related after the awakening holds a peculiar place among the prophecies of Jeremiah: "Jehovah appeared of old unto me, saying, Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore have I drawn out long lovingkindness unto thee." Whilst a large part of the discourses of this prophet is given to rebuke of sin and prediction of judgment, the message here is one of promise. It transports us into the final world-order, when the chaos and ruin, the sin and the sorrow shall have been overpast, nay changed into their opposites. No wonder that one, who had had to deliver so many prophecies of woe and destruction, should have delighted in seeing and reproducing this vision of restoration and blessedness, that after having been so long employed in rooting up and plucking out, he should have rejoiced more than ordinarily in this planting of new hopes, a pause of rest and healing also for his own weary and distracted soul.

In taking the comfort of the prophetic promises to our hearts we do not, perhaps, always realize what after the tempest and tumults, in the brief seasons of clear shining which God interposed, such relief must have meant to the prophets themselves. For they had not merely to pass through the distress of the present; besides this they were not allowed to avert their eyes from the terrifying vision of the latter days. In anticipation they drank from the cup "with wine of reeling" filled by Jehovah's hand. Nor did the prophets see only the turbulent surface, the foaming upper waves of the

inrushing flood, their eyes were opened to the religious and moral terrors underneath. The prophetic agony was no less spiritual than physical: it battled with the sin of Israel and the wrath of God, and these were even more dreadful realities than hostile invasion or collapse of the state or captivity for the remnant. In a sense which made them true types of Christ the prophets bore the unfaithfulness of the people on their hearts. As Jesus had a sorrowful acquaintance with the spirit no less than with the body of the cross, so they were led to explore the deeper meaning of the judgment, to enter recesses of its pain undreamt of by the sinners in Israel themselves.

In Jeremiah's ministry these things are illustrated with extraordinary clearness, partly owing to the individual temperament of the prophet, partly also to the critical times in which his lot had been cast. His was a retiring, peace-loving disposition, which from the very beginning protested against the Lord's call to enter upon this public office: "Ah Lord Jehovah, behold I know not how to speak, for I am a child." An almost idyllic, pastoral nature, he would have far preferred to lead the quiet priestly life, a shepherd among tranquil sheep. Why was this timid lad chosen to be a fortified brazen wall to his people, to hammer out words of iron against the flinty evil of their hearts? And though he surrendered to God for the sake of God, there always seems to have remained in his mind a scar of the tragic conflict between the stern things without and the tender things within. His soul sometimes found it difficult to enter self-forgetfully into the message. A strange compulsion directed his thought and forced its utterance. He sat alone because of God's hand, filled with indignation. In painful experience he learned that the way of man is not in himself to order his steps. When the impulse of his innermost heart led him to intercede for Israel the answer would sometimes come: "Pray not thou for this people." There is something Job-like in the cry: "Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me, a man of strife and of contention to the whole earth." Even to the perilous verge of remonstrance with Jehovah did the prophet

go in some of these extreme moments: "O Jehovah, Thou hast (over-)persuaded me, and I let myself be persuaded; Thou art stronger than I and hast prevailed." And when actually out of the urge of such nascent revolt, the idea of future refusal of himself to Jehovah assumed form, threatening "I will not make mention nor speak any more in his name," it turned within him as a burning fire shut up in his bones, which he could not contain. Nor was the inner aversion on such occasions confined to his own rôle in the sad drama, it sometimes reached the point of taking issue with Jehovah on behalf of the people: "Ah Lord, Thou hast greatly deceived this people, saying, ye shall have peace, whereas the sword reacheth unto the life." And surely, in view of the deep chasm in the prophet's mind, these expressions, and others like them, were, if not excusable with reference to God, yet understandable from Jeremiah's human standpoint. It was not sinful pessimism, nor morbid world-weariness that made the prophet exclaim: "Oh that I could comfort myself against sorrow; my heart is faint within me; oh that I had in the wilderness some lodging-place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my people and go from them!"

Of course we must not for a moment forget that, mingling with this, there was always much of an opposite character, something that made the prophet put himself in Jehovah's hand, and, forgetful of all else, approve from the heart whatever it was God's good-pleasure to do or purpose. At such times his soul was as a weaned child within him. Not away from God, but in God he discovered his wayfarer's lodge with its profound peace. The bitter words were sometimes found and eaten, and turned, as by a miracle of transmutation, into a joy to the heart. But such seasons seem to have been sporadic, and carried no guarantee that, in close succession to them the opposite state of mind would not gain control, finding utterance in words like these: "Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable? Wilt Thou be indeed unto me as a deceitful brook, waters that fail?"

It is against the background of such moods that we must

hold the words, "Jehovah appeared of old unto me saying, Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore have I drawn out long lovingkindness unto thee," in order to do justice to their sweetness and beauty. This is like coming out of the waste of the wilderness into a land of paradise. Even quite objectively regarded, the piece has its ineffable charm. It is like a landscape bathed in the golden glow of the harvest-season. In the farther distance winds the caravan of returning captives, coming homeward with weeping and supplication along rivers of water. The people are seen flowing unto the goodness of Jehovah, to the grain, the new wine and the oil. In the foreground rises Judah with her cities, a mountain resplendent in holiness. And the whole is made musical by the sound of the tabrets in the dances of them that make merry. Still, while a delight in itself, the scene in order to be fully enjoyed should be seen through the eyes of the prophet. It sounds like the notes of a bird finding its cage unexpectedly open, and with delirious joy exploring the new-gained freedom. For once the vision and the seer's deepest desire are perfectly blended. The lyre thrills in unison with something that sings itself within and needs no composing. The words move in absolute harmony with the graceful movements of the dancing virgins in the feast. Surely this prophet bore within himself a great poet. One can not help feeling this even in his litanies with their forecast of doom on the sin of Israel. But most effectively it shows itself in the larger and freer rhythms of the ascriptions of glory to Jehovah. It is in part a poet's satisfaction, that at the receding of the tide of vision, finds voice in the spontaneous words, "Upon this I awaked and beheld, and my sleep was sweet unto me." For the prophets are the only true interpreters of the sleeping or waking moments in which God communicated his word unto them.

More important, however, than the joyousness of the experience or the poetic spell cast over it, is the religious spirit it reveals. Jeremiah was before aught else a child of God and a servant of Jehovah. Whether there be gifts of prophecy,

they shall be done away with, or poetic tongues of the sweetest melodies they shall cease, but the religious bond with God is the one imperishable thing, on which the value and enduring of all else are suspended. Let us consider some of the traits characterizing this man of God in his relation to Jehovah, for after all his is one of the noblest figures in the field of Old Testament piety. First of all let us note the unparalleled direct and personal nature of his dealings with God. In Jeremiah's case there existed, alongside of the Spirit's official impact, if we may so call it, upon his mind, and interwoven with it, a divine approach addressing itself to the heart's private needs and desires. Of other communications of the truth addressed to himself, we may feel sure the prophet could have affirmed what here Israel is made to declare, that in them Jehovah had "appeared" to him. Appearing to speak makes revelation more than mere communication of truth; it puts God Himself in his word. It expresses that gracious condescension of contact, which Job distinguished from a less close approach in saying: "I had heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, but now sees Thee mine eye." And as Jehovah through his appearance injects the personal element into the transaction from his part, so, on the other hand, man receiving the vision feels in it the ultimate Godward expression of his own soul.

The collective character of God's dealings with Israel can be easily overemphasized, as if at the beginning there had been no personal rapport. There has been no time since God sought mankind and chose a people for Himself, in which the acts of individual visitation and of private prayer have been wholly lacking. But revealed religion itself has been subject in this respect to a process of increasing intensification and enrichment. Religion has been enabled to grow in the same degree that it has become conscious of its own direct encounter with God. When its roots touch that water, the plant is ready to bloom. It is easy to understand that more of the fine gold of piety enters an act whereby the single creature with all its sense of frailty and dependence casts

itself upon the bosom of God, than there can possibly enter into the most impressive worship offered by men to God in their joint-capacity. Since the fruitage of all religion is ultimately in the human consciousness, where it becomes wholly transparent as a reflector of the divine glory, the normal goal of the entire religious movement must lie in the individual, for there alone can it be transmuted into clear surrender and adoration. All the rest is for the sake of that. It is absolutely true in the sphere of religion, and with an absoluteness applying to nothing else in the world, what Jeremiah said: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches, but let him that glorieth glory in this that he has understanding and knoweth Me." For if we had the tongues of angels and the gift of prophecy, and all knowledge and all faith, and if our hands were ceaselessly busy with removing mountains of evil from the world, nevertheless if the features of the face of God remained strange to us, and we had no experience of the divine embrace and benediction, it would profit us nothing. Nor would it profit God. His desire for us, no less than our need of Him can be satisfied in no other way than in a thorough spiritual penetration and possession.

The hidden man of the heart is the supreme religious reality that has value in the sight of God, and to Him this is so transcendently precious, that He makes it the object of his chief joy. It is from there that the divine image looks back upon itself, so as to enable God to love his own in us. To shift the center from that to some peripheral point means to dereligionize religion at its very core. But while this principle has always been in force from the beginning, there have appeared in the course of revelation men of God in whom the contact with Him assumed a preëminently personal character. David, the man after God's heart, many of the psalmists and prophets received this distinction. The nature of the prophetic office brought it about, that those administering it were deeply initiated into the secrets of the Lord. Although we

must be careful not to confound the two processes of revelation and religion, through rashly making the prophets' message the product of their religious experience pure and simple, yet the experience could not help being contributory to the performance of their official task. They had to receive before they could communicate, and in order to receive it was in many cases necessary for them to enter into the secret of their Sender. "Surely," says Amos, "the Lord Jehovah will do nothing except He reveal his secret to his servants, the prophets." The prophets belong to the circle of divine acquaintance. Where something important is about to happen, it would seem like a breach of intimacy to keep them uninformed or unprepared. Thus a fine flower of religion is seen to blossom forth from the heart of prophecy. After all it was God, who stood before the prophets unveiled in his purpose, and to have the feel of the purpose was to have the feel of God.

Among the prophets there are two in particular for whom their official task became a veritable means of grace. These two are Hosea and Jeremiah. This seems due to, or at least in line with, the temperamental endowment of both in which the element of sanctified emotion played an important part. In their case, probably, it was along the line of feeling that closeness of communion with God was obtained. In virtue of this their religious aspiration made straight for the possession of the heart of God. And Jeremiah had this faculty in an even stronger degree than his predecessor Hosea. Jeremiah reveals it in his profound treatment of the conscience in connection with the fact of sin: "The heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked." He pictures to himself the confrontation of man with God in this innermost chamber of accounting: "I, Jehovah, search the mind, I try the heart." And the same thing is seen reversing itself between God and man on the plane of favor. In Jeremiah we meet not only with affectionate, comforting speech from Jehovah to his servant, we also meet with repeated individual prayer, ascending to God, arising to be sure, first of all, out of

his prophetic occupation. These passages in which the prophet rises out of the perplexing maze and the thick atmosphere of his field of labor towards the serenity of the presence of God are truly remarkable.

Jeremiah is the praying prophet preëminently. The prayer is not always prayer for guidance and help, although the confused conditions of the age offered abundant scope for that. It is in the main prayer for relief and unburdening of soul, such as derives from the simple drawing near to God medicine and solace. It is the kind of prayer that so instinctively takes for its key-note the phrase "Thou knowest Lord," showing to how large an extent the prayer-attitude was one of supreme confidence of the prophet in God. The prophet would have no secrets from Jehovah. And the mere pouring into the ears of God the disquietudes of the heart would bring calm and refreshment. The invitation "Come unto Me, and ye shall find rest for your souls" first fell from the lips of Jeremiah speaking for God. The intermingling of his discourses with repeated prayer-episodes places the prophet in close proximity to the genius of the Psalter. He surely walked in the company of those who had the ear of Jehovah and the freedom of his inner chamber. To him, as to all the great men of prayer the mere thought of the hiding of God's face created a dread of unspeakable loneliness, deeper than any arising from other sources of separation. The cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken Me?" while unique in its kind, nevertheless was prefigured in those piteous plaints of desolation heard now and then in psalm and prophecy. And through the imparting of this baptism of prayer the prophet, no doubt, was meant to prefigure Him, on whose lips the graces of psalmist and prophet dwelt together in perfect union to comfort the people of God of all ages.

If what has been said be germinally contained in the phrase "Jehovah appeared unto me," a few words about the time of that memorable appearance will not seem superfluous. The Virgin of Israel reports them as having been addressed to her "of old." There is something wonderful about an utter-

ance made concerning a theophany of such far-away times: "Jehovah appeared to me of old." No lapse of time in the past had been able to efface the impression these words made at their primal issue from the mouth of God. The Virgin recalls them from out of the immemorial distances of time, when she was sitting in the midst of a small remnant, surrounded by the slain, and how all at once the sounds fell upon her ear: "Thou hast found favor in the wilderness; yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore I have drawn out long lovingkindness unto thee." It would make only a slight difference in enhancing the mysteriousness of the situation, if, following certain expositors, we should change the temporal sense of "from afar," to that of spacial remoteness after this fashion: "From a far-off country, across the immeasurable wastes separating me from the holy land, the Lord suddenly appeared to me, as it were annihilating the distance, saying, 'I have loved thee of old.'" But it would be no improvement. To us the very point and pith of the statement seems to lie in the joining of the time-element to the mention of the theophany. The situation is dramatic; the discourse assumes the form of dialogue. First Jehovah speaks: "At that time will I be the God of all the families of Israel." Then Israel with acute remembrance gives answer: "Jehovah appeared to me of old." Then Jehovah speaks once more: "Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be built, O Virgin of Israel." Thus to the hearing of Israel in the present reëchoes the voice from afar off, as though the ages were holding converse with each other about the eternal mercies of God. What the prophet had experienced so often in the presence of Jehovah, when words were exchanged and speech kindled speech, is here by a fine imagining made to take place between Jehovah and Israel.

But what is the motive for this strange reversion of Israel's mind to the past? The context suggests the answer. The olden time was the time of the Exodus, the Mosaic epoch. It was normative in its principles for every crisis. To the prophet's mind there was no other way for reopening the fountains of grace than by turning back to this declaration in

the wilderness. The wilderness is the wrestling-place, where the spirit of sinful Israel has ever again to meet the mysterious stranger, who has the blessing, but will not impart it, until it shall have been fought for in bitter anguish of soul. Here is the vision of the sword and that of the ranks of the slain, perpetual witnesses to the divine resentment of sin. But here also, nay more impressive, is the picture of sovereign grace unaccountably interposing: here were the left ones and they *did* find favor and God *did* cause them to rest. It resembles the form of statement once used by Hosea for the same purpose: "I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak comfortably unto her, and will give her her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope; and she shall make answer there as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt." The reference, then, to the wilderness-journey, and the settlement of Canaan is but an overture to the drama of redemption. It strikes at the outset the two notes that dominate the body of the music, and how fitting the interplay of both! There was need of protesting as now, so then against the easy hope that paradise could be restored without reckoning with the Angel and the flaming sword. Jeremiah knew from his own experience, how every piece of hope and promise had to be fought for in penitence and prayer, snatched, as it were, out of the fires of judgment.

An example is furnished by the realistic portrayal of repentant Ephraim bemoaning himself: "Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised as a calf unaccustomed to the yoke: turn Thou me, and I shall be turned, for Thou art Jehovah my God. Surely, after that I *was* turned I repented; and after that I *was* instructed I smote upon my thigh; I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth." But the prophet felt also assured that, in spite of the present despair, there must be a future and a hope in store for Israel. As the ancient ordinances of the succession of day and night can not be broken, so the eternal sequences in the process of redemption, sanctioned by a covenantal oath are for-

ever exempt from failing. And so from the cup of Jehovah wrath and milk and honey are made to flow together. In this paradox lies the chief preciousness of our faith. Did not our Lord Jesus Christ pour the New Covenant out of a cup filled with blood? What Jeremiah depicts here is neither a piece of unjustifiable optimism, nor a piece of unsanctified natural eschatology. No, the new order of things is baptized in the element of salvation. Jehovah has ransomed Jacob and redeemed him. The iniquity is forgiven, the sin remembered no more. The weary soul is satiated, and the sorrowful soul replenished. The entire scene glows with the unearthly splendor of grace.

In the next place let us note the reflex influence which all this exerts upon the prophet's religious state of mind. The type of piety has not been changed. There is still in it the same individual, but now thoroughly spiritualized intercourse between God and man. And yet, while the same qualitatively, it reëmerges a thousand times intensified. The recipient of salvation lives in closer union with God than the most ideal relationship on the basis of natural religion could possibly provide. There is no joy like the joy engendered by redemption. Nor is this simply due to the law of compensation. It is true this counts for much. To estimate truly the riches of grace one must have passed through the abjectness and poverty and despair of sin. But a far more principal cause is at work here. In redemption God opens up Himself to man in a wholly unprecedented manner, of which the highest religion of nature affords but the merest foretaste. One who is being saved explores and receives more of God than unfallen man or the unfallen angels ever could. A song like this has in it a deeper exultation than that which the Sons of God and the Morning Stars sang together for joy in the Creator.

In this point again Jeremiah's personal experience proved a typical forecast of Israel's future enjoyment of God. Through all the distress and terror of his ministry he had learned to know God with a new incomparable knowledge.

Even that former sense of discord and protest in which the right always appeared on God's side, had only served to lay bare the ultimate rock where his soul was anchored with unbreakable chains to Jehovah. The great expostulators in the annals of faith have frequently been likewise the closest intimates of God's confidence. Here lies the birthplace of that heroism of religion by which some were enabled momentarily to rise above self-interest and self-safety in the simple satisfaction of having and knowing God Himself. Here lies the explanation of the outcry of Job, "Though He slay me, yet will I hope in Him," and of the avowal of Habakkuk, "Though the fig-tree shall not flourish, neither shall fruit be in the vines, though the labor of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no food, the flocks shall be cut off from the folds, and there shall be no herd in the stalls, yet I will rejoice in Jehovah." Let us never forget it: whoever cuts out the redemptive heart from our religion, not only bars the one road of escape, but he also bars us from the purest reaches of religious delight itself. The piety of redemption is the consummate flower of the fear of God in Old and New Testament alike.

Finally, this prophetic utterance exhibits the intrinsic nobility of redemptive religion. It and it alone represents Jehovah's eternal love as the source from which it primordially springs, and from which it perennially renews itself. This divine declaration, "I have loved thee with an everlasting love," is by no means from Jeremiah's standpoint the commonplace which our over-familiarity with that attribute, not seldom at the expense of due regard for other attributes in the nature of God, has made it. The prophet means to describe by this term something quite extraordinary, something well-nigh inconceivable, a supreme wonder in that land of wonders which religion can never cease to be. Love is to him the highest form of the spiritual embrace of person by person. To ascribe it to God in connection with a creature is at the farthest remove from being a figure of speech. It means that in the most literal sense He concentrates all the light and

warmth of his affection, all the prodigious wealth of its resources, his endless capacity of delight, upon the heart-to-heart union between the pious and Himself. And what God for his part brings into this union has a generosity, a sublime abandon, an absoluteness, that, measured by human analogies, we can only designate as the highest and purest type of devotion. It is named love for this very reason that God puts into it his heart and soul and mind and strength, and gathers all his concerns with his people into the focus of this one desire. It is when speaking of this that Scripture employs its boldest anthropomorphisms. Here nothing but the absolute and unqualified are in place. He who would give God less than this total by a mere fraction, would give Him nothing at all. In saying this we do not, of course, refer to the imperfect performance, but to the principle that regulates the obligation. The reason lies in the nature and position of God as the Highest Good, the one supremely desirable reality, besides whom and apart from whom it were folly for us to seek aught in heaven or on earth. Strictly speaking such a state of mind pertains only to the creature. God is the Receiver, not the Practiser of religion. And yet, considering his absolute devotion to his people we cannot but speak of it in terms of reciprocity. In point of fact the occurrence of even the shadow of such a surrender to God in us, is only made possible by the marvel of its occurrence in God. We love God, but can do so only because He loved us first. Thus the supreme force of religion must issue from the disclosure of God's sovereign love to us. No other divine attribute, taken by itself, is deep and wide enough to engender and support that movement. The prophet was well-aware of this, for he distinguishes love even from lovingkindness, placing the former back of the latter. Kindness is a noble attribute; only, if we may apply to such things our frail human language, it is not the first-born among the divine virtues. "Hesed" is the loyal, tender attachment practised in daily intercourse by reason of some original, more ultimate union preceding it. If the primordial love did not lie back of it, Jehovah's kindness could

never be an assured possession of Israel. Were kindness or mercy or long-suffering our reliance, then the perfection of confidence would have to remain hopelessly beyond our reach. Kindness carries the necessity of ever-repeated renewal in itself. It is like a reservoir, full and rich indeed, but not like the fountain except by grace of the fountain's supply. But, since the fathomless tide of the divine love rises irresistibly underneath it, we know that it can never fail, but will prove at every point more than equal to our needs.

Thanks be to God, this applies to the Church no less than to the individual. The Christian *Church* binds up and heals the wounds of humanity, not in the sign of benevolence considered by itself, but in the sign of a compassion into which the love of God has put the tenderest tenderness of its touch. Because it was love that inspired Jehovah's kindness to Israel, there was no limit set to the store of pardon and salvation. "As often as I speak against Ephraim I remember him still; therefore my heart yearneth for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith Jehovah." This gives the assurance, that though the dreadful sword might again and again claim its harvest, Jehovah would not make an absolute end. This inclusion of Ephraim amongst the objects of God's lovingkindness is, perhaps, the most touching trait in the entire prophecy. For Ephraim seemed to have been carried by the judgments of the past beyond every reach of hope and salvation; he had been lost, as it were, in the backward sweep of the terrible years: of what possible use could be to Ephraim mercy and kindness? But everlasting love, by reason of its eternity, surmounts even this. Like the vastness of heaven it encircles all the ceaseless change and attrition of time.

And what was true with reference to extinct Ephraim is just as true with reference to the past of every child of God. Each one carries with himself through life the consciousness of what can not be undone. Who has never heard that doleful voice in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping, Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they are not? There is nothing that will silence it ex-

cept the thought of the infinite sweep of the omnipotent divine love: "Refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears, for they shall come again."

There is still a thought lying even farther back for our comfort and satisfaction. The idea has always proved hard to bear that there should ever have been a stretch of existence in which our persons were indifferent to God. Love, and not the least religious love, seeks to eternalize itself, and that backwards no less than forward. In the unlimitable round of his timeless existence we have never been absent from nor uncared for by Him. A greater wonder as an object of the divine interest is *Ephraim not yet* than *Ephraim no more*. The best proof that He will never cease to love us lies in that He never began. What we are for Him and what He is for us belongs to the realm of eternal values. Without this we are nothing, in it we have all. Ours is the paeon of Paul: "For we know that to them that love God all things work together for good . . . for those whom He foreknew (that is, eternally loved), He also predestinated to be made like unto the image of his Son . . . for I am persuaded, that neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities, nor things present nor things to come, nor powers, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

THE FACE*

One of the finest things in this world is the holy passion that flames in an ardent youthful soul to preach Christ's Gospel of salvation to lost men. And a pathetic thing, surely, is to see young men in their preparation for this preaching go on year after year largely neglecting the cultivation of one of the most important factors in effective preparation.

The factor in view, suggested by our subject, is a factor without which one can never preach the Gospel with full effectiveness; but with which he can preach it effectively. And not only so, but with which he will always be preaching it, even when he is not uttering a word, yea, even when he is altogether unconscious of the fact that he is preaching!

This valuable factor was one which Christ our Example had in full measure, and which has its important part in explaining the rich effectiveness of His ministry. In His preparation He, evidently, did not neglect the cultivation of this factor, for He possessed it richly from the very beginning of His public ministry. His development in this factor is clearly indicated by such Gospel passages as Luke ii. 40 (twelve years of His early life) and Luke ii. 52 (eighteen years of His early life). And when, in His ministry, He, in accordance with the rule of His life, went about doing good (Acts x. 38), this factor, which is too seldom thought of, was one through which by His mere presence He was constantly doing good, and through which the modern clergyman also may be constantly doing good.

We who are preparing to preach the Gospel of Christ surely do not wish to neglect any vital factor in our preparation. We wish to attain the highest usefulness we possibly can in His service and the service of our struggling, suffering, sorrowing fellow men. But we cannot attain our highest usefulness without due attention to the factor suggested by our subject.

* This autumn Professor Mitchell delivered two lectures to the students of Omaha Theological Seminary, on the subject "The Face." Certain changes have been made in preparing them for publication, but the general form has been retained. [Ed.]

My experience for forty years in our educational institutions has led me to feel that certain subjects of vital importance to any developing young life are too much "taken for granted," and thereby neglected, and treated as of minor importance. This is but natural, I suppose, although sadly unfortunate for the young people seeking equipment for effective life, and really discreditable to our institutions of learning, in which, too often, young people learn almost everything except how to live effectively.

Our institutions are organized in "departments"; and each "department" has its own work to do, to which it confines itself; and as the "departments" do each its own specific and limited work, factors of vital importance to any young life are completely left out, with keen loss to the earnest student who is seeking to prepare for life, in all its grand scope.

Education is improving in this regard, I am sure; but much still remains to be done, especially, I feel, in our seminaries. A single illustration of this lack in educational institutions may be cited from Professor Robert West, of the University of Wisconsin. Professor West says: "Emotion . . . is just as real a part of our lives as the intellect, a fact that is being slowly but surely realized by the educators of today. Fifty years ago organized education in America concerned itself with the training of the intellect alone; it is to be hoped that fifty years hence the training of the emotional life of the child (and young person) will occupy as important a place in the school as the training of the intellect; for our happiness (and, we may add, our effectiveness and usefulness in life) depends in so large a measure upon our emotional balance."¹

Among the vital subjects that are neglected, too much "taken for granted," in our colleges and seminaries, may be named the following: how to care for health; how to use time; how to manage personal or family finances; how to attain rich personal efficiency; how to become fully proficient in one's profession; how to select one's life-mate wisely; how

¹ *Purposive Speaking* (1924), pp. 45f.

to live happily with this mate "ever after"; how to manage the emotional life; the nature and importance of the subconscious, and how to utilize its rich possibilities; how to manage the sex life wisely; how to plan one's life; how to develop attractive and winning personality; how to prolong life and make its later years eminently fruitful; etc.

These subjects need not be specifically taught, as regular courses, in our institutions; but where students, even in seminaries, are observed to be deficient in any of these lines, they should at least be tactfully warned of their personal lack, and guided to what will help them to get right and make the most of themselves.

Lack of guidance in these matters doubtless discounts the effectiveness of many a life ten, or twenty, or thirty, or fifty per cent, or even more. And such discount in the effectiveness of lives devoted to the service of Christ and His Church is nothing short of tragic. Think of one's life in Christ's service being a fourth, or a third, or even a half, short of what it might have been! That not only robs the preacher himself, it robs Christ and His Cause, and also robs all those whom the preacher might have helped, had he been adequately prepared! How can a preacher, for example, guide young people in any of the lines named above, if he has no definite information in those lines?

The guidance of students in our institutions might be given in special addresses by suitable persons; or by individual professors, in connection with their regular subjects; or in friendly tactful conference with individual students. The former methods are, I judge, better as a rule because they eliminate the embarrassing personal element. Such guidance is especially important with seminary students, candidates for the ministry, as it will not only help them to make a success of their own lives, but will also prepare them to help many others in similar ways in their service as pastors.

With profound gratefulness I remember hints that came to me in these lines in my student days from thoughtful professors who turned aside a moment from the teaching of their

specific subjects to throw a bit of light on the student's biggest problem, how to make the most of life. Those bits of light helped me. But they were too scattered and too few to deal effectively with the big problems involved. And it was only later, years later, in some instances too late, that I got into effective touch with the sources of adequate guidance. How much better if this guidance had come to me earlier, in the formative period of my life!

And now let us seek to develop our subject,—The Face.

As I stood this summer beside a prominent photographer in his studio, and looked with him at a picture of a lady, he asked me if I had noticed how she was evidently striving for the best possible impression when the picture was taken, striving to "look her prettiest," and better than she usually looked! And I could but answer, Yes, I had noticed it. The spirit of striving for the best impression, better than she usually looked, striving to hide disagreeable traits (which she indulged when she wasn't having her picture taken!), and to make attractive traits (which she also had) prominent, was evident in the picture, with plain traces of self-consciousness and insincerity. The lady's face, when the camera caught it, was "giving her away"!

Our daily papers this summer, telling of the royal welcome in Rome to General Umberto Nobile and other rescued members of the crew of the ill-fated dirigible *Italia*, said of the General, "his face showed plainly the hardships he had undergone." Again, from a somewhat different angle, the face was telling its story.

These incidents, and other similar ones through the summer, reminded me of impressions I had picked up years ago, in my student days, regarding the relation of character, or personality, to outward appearance. I recalled, for example, the Platonizing concept of the poet Edmund Spenser, which reads:

For of the soul the body form doth take,
For soul is form, and doth the body make.

That surely has a lot of truth in it. And similarly the poet James Thomson, in his *Castle of Indolence*, says:

True comeliness, which nothing can impair,
Dwells in the mind: all else is vanity and glare.

And then I thought of the strong impression made on my mind by a passage in Isaiah, as I read the Bible in my "prep. school" days, and observed the faces of my fellow students, whose virtues and vices were more or less definitely known to me, as to all the student body: that passage which reads, "The show of their countenance doth witness against them; and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not."² Rather startling thought for a young fellow about to launch into a career of sin, isn't it, that his face will "give him away"! And equally a rich encouragement to a young man, in building his life, to know that if he lives in staunch uprightness and honor his face will tell the worthy story and thus recommend him to the confidence and esteem of his fellow men!

Cheyne, in his *Commentary on Isaiah*, says of the people in view in Isa. iii. 9, "Their character may be read by a keen glance at their face." And Albert Barnes, in his *Notes* on this passage, says truly, "There is a correspondence between the feelings of the heart and the looks of the face. . . . The prophet refers to the great law in physiology that the emotions of the heart will be usually expressed in the countenance." This "great law in physiology," of which Barnes speaks, vitally concerns us in this study. It is indeed a law of human nature, which we would all do well to remember. Especially is it true that the emotional life, and the states of the subconscious, that is, one's feelings and his inmost soul, will express themselves in his manner and appearance, and especially in his face.

In explanation of this vital relation between the soul within and the expression without, modern psychology has developed the theory of muscle tensions, which is undoubtedly

² Isa. iii. 9. The word rendered "show" (*hakkārā*) is a verbal noun from the Hiphil stem of *nākar*, "to contemplate, to behold, to look closely at"; it means "a beholding, a taking knowledge of," so that the thought, according to Gesenius in his *Hebrew Lexicon*, is, "what may be known by their faces, what their faces manifestly show." The English word "show" in Isa. iii. 9, then, is equivalent to the words "look," "appearance," "expression," of their face. Cf. the Greek τὸ εἶδος.

correct, and makes it plain why outward expression corresponds so closely with inner feeling. An emotional state, of whatever sort, always sets up appropriate muscle tensions; and these muscle tensions inevitably modify one's pose and appearance, the look of his face, and the impression he makes on others. And though we may not at first know just what is affecting him, we can readily know that something is affecting him; and later observation and inference can bring this out.

Furthermore, if emotional states are continued, they become extended moods with us; and, if moods are indulged, they tend to grow into established and permanent dispositions. And, as the moods and dispositions are inevitably attended by the same muscle tensions as characterized the corresponding emotional states (out of which the moods and dispositions grew), it is evident how these moods and dispositions, as they are continued for days, and weeks, and months, and years, must become deeply, and sometimes almost ineradicably, stamped upon and ground into our personalities.

On this matter of muscle tensions as related to emotions William James, in his *Principles of Psychology*, says: "Objects of rage, love, fear, etc., not only prompt a man to outward deeds, but provoke characteristic alterations in his attitude and visage, and affect his breathing, circulation, and other organic functions in specific ways. When the outward deeds are inhibited, these latter emotional expressions still remain, and we read the anger in the face, though the blow may not be struck, and the fear betrays itself in voice and color, though one may suppress all other signs. . . . Every object that excites an instinct excites an emotion as well. Emotions, however, fall short of instincts, in that the emotional reaction usually terminates in the subject's own body."³

And again James says: "Movement is the natural immediate effect of feeling. . . . It is so in reflex action, it is so in emotional expression, it is so in the voluntary life."⁴ And although for some reason the actual movement may not take

³ Vol. II, p. 442.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 527.

place, the tensing of the appropriate muscles does take place, modifying one's pose and facial expression, and affecting the impression made on others. James also discusses quite fully the influence, in the human individual, of 'analogous feeling stimuli,' and how they affect our appearance and manner.⁵

The muscle tension theory is well expressed by Professor Robert West, of the University of Wisconsin in his *Purposive Speaking* (1924). Professor West speaks of how our emotions set up in us widespread "inward activity, the quickening of the heart, the excitation of the glands, the tensing of the muscles of respiration, the disturbances within all the viscera, the vaso-motor changes."⁶ He also says: "Any given emotion has a motor reaction pattern involving the muscles of the body. Although these patterns have many elements in common, yet each emotion carries with it characteristic methods of behavior."⁷

Professor West also says: "A continued emotion we call a mood, and a continued mood we call a disposition or temperament. The mood carries with it the tensions of the emotion, and the disposition carries with it the tensions of the mood. Thus it is that the temperament indelibly affects our postural tensions, our movements, and our facial expression." And he adds: "persons observing one unconsciously read his tensions." And: "The language of the muscle tensions is a universal one, read (not only by grown people, but) even by babies and dumb animals."⁸ There are some people whom babies and dogs "take to" easily; and others whom they instinctively shun. The latter are those whose "muscle tensions" are not comfortable to, that is, make an unfavorable impression on, the beholder.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, Chap. XXV. See also John Dewey, "The Theory of Emotion," (*Psychological Review*, I, 553, II, 13); and the arts. "Emotional Expression," and "Physiognomy" in Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*.

⁶ P. 44.

⁷ P. 125.

⁸ P. 126.

Remember that we are not here speaking of the opinions of the utterly discredited pseudo-science Phrenology, which deals so largely with the shape and contour of the face and head; but we are dealing with the results of modern psychological and truly scientific investigations of the expression of the face, sometimes designated by the more or less useful term Physiognomy. Whatever we call it, this valuable study has been richly developed, with scientific definiteness and accuracy, during the last hundred years, and especially during the last fifty years; and, more particularly, in its application to personality-building and personal self-improvement, during the last fifteen or twenty years, and especially in the fields of salesmanship and public speaking.

Interesting, and fairly epoch-marking, works in this development have been written by G. Lavater,⁹ Sir Charles Bell,¹⁰ Pierre Gratiolet,¹¹ Charles Darwin,¹² Francis Warner,¹³ and P. Mantegazza.¹⁴ The best recent developments in this line seem to have been in the field of psychology in its various branches, including the subconscious, and psychiatry. And especially in various lines of applied psychology, such as salesmanship, public speaking, personality-building, etc.

Here, then, we may quote the statement of the Rev. Percy Dearmer, A.M., of London, England, who has made a special study of the Lord Christ's personal appearance, and the look of His face: "The outward form of man is ultimately the expression of the soul within."¹⁵

In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* it is said: "It was early noticed that the good and evil passions by their continuous

⁹ G. Lavater, *L'Art de connaître les Hommes* (1807).

¹⁰ Sir Charles Bell, *Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression*, 3rd edition (1844).

¹¹ Pierre Gratiolet, *De la Physionomie et des Mouvements d'Expression* (1865).

¹² Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872).

¹³ Francis Warner, M.D. (of London, England), *Physical Expression, its Modes and Principles* (1886).

¹⁴ P. Mantegazza, *Physiognomy and Expression* (1890).

¹⁵ Hastings *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, I, p. 314.

exercise stamp their impress on the face, and that each particular passion has its own expression. Thus far physiognomy is a branch of physiology."¹⁶ And Robert Collier says truly, "A man with an ugly disposition (which is primarily a mental state) will have harsh, unlovely features. One with a gentle disposition will have a smiling and serene countenance."¹⁷

A host of other modern writers, of almost every class, might easily be quoted. But nowhere, in my student days, or since, have I found a better expression of the practical principle before us than that by Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his essay "Spiritual Laws." Emerson says:

"A man passes for what he is worth. What he is, engraves itself on his face, on his form, on his fortunes, in letters of light which all men may read but himself. Concealment avails him nothing, boasting nothing. There is confession in the glances of our eyes; in our smiles; in salutations; and the grasp of hands. His sin bedaubes him, mars all his good impression. Men know not why they do not trust him; but they do not trust him. His vice glasses his eye, demeans his cheek, pinches the nose, sets the mark of the beast on the back of the head, and writes O fool! fool! on the forehead of a king."

Again: "If you would not be known to do anything, never do it. A man may play the fool in the drifts of a desert, but every grain of sand shall seem to see. He may be a solitary eater, but he cannot keep his foolish counsel. A broken complexion, a swinish look, ungenerous acts, and the want of due knowledge,—all blab."

And again: "Human character doth evermore publish itself. It will not be concealed. It hates darkness,—it rushes into light. The most fugitive deed and word, the mere air of doing a thing, the intimated purpose, expresses character. If you act, you show character; if you sit still, you show it; if you sleep, you show it. . . . Confucius exclaimed, 'How can a man be concealed! How can a man be concealed!'"

And again: "Dreadful limits are set in nature to the powers

¹⁶ 11th Edition, article "Physiognomy."

¹⁷ *The Secret of the Ages* (1926), p. 215.

of dissimulation. Truth tyrannizes over the unwilling members of the body. Faces never lie, it is said. No man need be deceived, who will study the changes of expression. When a man speaks the truth in the spirit of truth, his eye is as clear as the heavens. When he has base ends, and speaks falsely, the eye is muddy and sometimes asquint." In another passage Emerson speaks of a hypocrite or deceiver as having "mud at the bottom of his eye."

And yet again: "A man passes for what he is worth. . . . The world is full of judgment days, and into every assembly that a man enters, in every action he attempts, he is gauged and stamped."

May not the whole case be summed up now in a saying that has taken on the quality of a proverb, a generally accepted motto, almost a physiological and psychological axiom, in common use during the last thirty years, viz., "The face is an index of the mind."¹⁸ And here we may recall the already quoted statement of the Rev. Percy Dearmer, "The outward form of man is ultimately the expression of the soul within."

This being true, students of the Seminary, what is the practical application of this principle to us? Why, just this: We clergymen are engaged in a public profession, in which we are constantly dealing with people, seeking to influence their conduct and to win them to Christ and His service. And we must not forget that people estimate us by our looks, they read our souls in our faces, and know us for what we are. And by this secret knowledge their attitude toward us, and our influence upon them, are determined!

More than this, the clergy are on trial before the laity and the world, and, as Emerson says, "The world is full of judgment days," for us preachers. This has always been so, but is especially so in our time. We clergymen, the official representatives of, and in the eyes of the world sponsors for, Christ's Church and Cause, are expected to be examples and models of what we are asking others to be. In our character, our personality, our action, our manner, our look, the im-

¹⁸ Francis Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 193, cf. p. 295 b.

pression we make and the influence we exert, the world expects us to be genuinely and thoroughly Christian. And if we are not, woe to our influence! And not only that, but often, alas, because of some shortcoming of ours, serious discrediting of the sacred Cause we represent takes place on the part of certain persons whom we have affected unfavorably.

How immensely important, then, that we men in the ministry should be right within, as Christ was! He appeared all right, and impressed men so, because He was all right! He had no occasion to practise subterfuges, to try to conceal His character, but could be absolutely frank and sincere always. And we ministers, as Christ's representatives in the world, should seek to have this true of us, as it was true of Him.

In our service of Christ among men, it is then our solemn duty to do all in our power to build our personality right, in order that our appearance, and the subtle impression we make on people, may also be right.

But a grave caution here: Don't try to have your looks right, while you neglect your character, your soul! If you do this, your face will "give you away," and men will speedily know you for what you are, instead of being duped into taking you for what you pretend to be!

The only way for those who work with people, as clergymen do, to have the full influence they desire, is to have their character, their personality, and consequently their personal appearance, their look and manner, and the impression they make, all they ought to be. The vital importance of this to full success is realized, and strongly promoted, in other lines of life work, as business, salesmanship, lecturing and other forms of public speaking, the practice of law, the work of patriotic leaders, etc. Why shouldn't it be realized and fully promoted among us ministers also?

There is encouragement and inspiration for us preachers, yes, and a ringing challenge, too, when we find our brother men who are engaged in commercial pursuits expressing themselves as does Herbert W. Hess, Ph.D., in his fine book, *Creative Salesmanship*, in which he so strongly insists on

right personality as essential to full success in life's pursuits. Dr. Hess says: "As young men, red-blooded and heroic, begin to blend these conceptions in their efforts toward life's attainment, a change will take place in the affairs of men. Spiritual values containing ideals are the hope of growth. . . . It is the ideal which the subconscious feeds upon, for it feels truth, as the intellect sees it."¹⁹

And so of all high-grade books on salesmanship, executive positions, business policy and leadership, etc., they devote much space to showing the vital importance of right personality to full success. And if this is true in business, and other secular pursuits, it is even more vitally true in the Gospel ministry.

It is in fact immensely important that men preparing themselves for the Gospel ministry should realize this, and deliberately set themselves, early in life, to build their character aright, that is, to mould themselves genuinely Christian in character and spirit, in order to be right in personality, appearance, and impression made on others! And the ideal time for you, students of the Seminary, to push with vigor this building of right personality, and consequent right personal appearance and right impression on others, is while in the seminary, as a vital part of your professional education and preparation for the Christian ministry.

Therefore, be building your character now, while in the seminary, be making yourself, as rapidly as your personal limitations permit, genuinely Christian in personality and spirit. And let the fine traits and sentiments that are growing within you manifest themselves in your manner and your conduct constantly, with as few cases of failure as possible. Mould your souls in the image of Christ, live daily in the Christ-like spirit, and your faces will come to reflect His spirit and so will impress men favorably and helpfully.

And this, after all, is a very important motive, not only that you should be right in yourself, but that you may be able to impress men favorably and helpfully, and win them for the

¹⁹ P. 283.

Master! In other words, to be genuinely Christian, and as nearly as we can Christ-like, in personality and spirit, is a most effective element in our equipment for winning men to Christ!

Strive to be right within, then, and to let this inner rightness find due expression daily, in your looks, your manner, your action, all your relations with and your treatment of others.

"But," some one will say, "this is a mere truism you are springing on us! We're already building Christian character and Christian personality! All Christians do that!"

Yes, I agree, all Christians, and especially, we may claim, Christian ministers, as a class, do that, to some extent. And if any of us are doing it efficiently, thoroughly, in rich and full measure, that is fine indeed.

But most of us are doing it only to some extent, not fully; doing it in haphazard fashion; without realization of its immense importance; and with many slips and delays in its full realization. What I am pleading for is that it may be done intelligently, definitely, habitually, resolutely, perseveringly, fully on a par with other lines of endeavor, all through the seminary course, and on into the coming years, with constant effort at self-improvement, till one realizes his full possibilities, becomes all he can become in this life, grows into full Christian personality and self-expression, and consequent full beneficent impression and influence.

How many of us, for example, not to speak of other items, are handling at all wisely and efficiently our emotional life, or are utilizing at all effectively the rich possibilities of our subconscious (our inmost soul)?

A lifetime of experience and observation leads me to feel sure that the noted efficiency expert, Edward Earle Purinton, is right when he says that the best of us are hardly realizing forty per cent of our personal possibilities, although by improving our lives we might realize sixty or seventy per cent. And H. G. Wells says: "Our lives in strength, in realized capacity, in achievement, and happiness, are, perhaps, 20 per

cent or 30 per cent of what they ought to be. If we could . . . get to work upon this educational proposition as a business man gets to work upon a mineral deposit or the development of an invention, instead of a 20 per cent result we might clamber to an 80 per cent or a 90 per cent result in educated efficiency."

What a wonderful improvement, if, instead of realizing only thirty per cent, we should realize sixty per cent of our full possibilities, in our lives! Just a doubling of our efficiency and fruitfulness in the Master's service, that's all!

Yes, young men of the Seminary, my fellow-students in life's great school, I assure you that God has given us in ourselves wonderful possibilities for His glory, and that there are "acres of diamonds" hidden away in our inmost natures, just waiting to be mined out for the promoting of God's glory and the blessing of our fellow men! And what a pity when these diamonds are left unmined, as they so often are, to the serious discounting of the worthwhileness of our lives!

Are we willing, I ask you, to be thirty-per cent men, when we might be sixty-per cent men, or more? Where is our manliness, our Christian heroism? Don't we wish to make the most of ourselves?

Let us figure this subject a little, and see just how it works out. Suppose that by intelligently cultivating right personality we could increase our effectiveness in life just ten per cent, during the period from age twenty to age seventy. That would be equivalent to adding five whole years to our life service to the Lord and our fellow men. Or, suppose that we could increase our effectiveness twenty per cent, that would be equivalent to adding ten whole years. Or, suppose we could increase our effectiveness thirty per cent—and often it could be done,—that would be equivalent to the adding of fifteen whole years to our life service! It would be worth while, wouldn't it!

But what has been said isn't all. An important factor has been left out of our calculation. The various elements in right personality, especially right emotional life and right utiliza-

tion of the subconscious, tend strongly toward betterment of health. And through this betterment they tend, not only to increase one's working capacity through all the course of his life (a fact which, although important, need not be included here), but also tend to postpone one's old-age decrepitude and decay, that is, tend to promote longevity, and—barring accident—to add decidedly to the length of one's productive life. As Dr. Herman N. Bundesen, health commissioner, says in one of his bulletins, a man is most efficient at the age of seventy, if his previous life has been lived right. "That is the age of highest mentality," says Dr. Bundesen, "and it is a man's duty to keep his body fit so that he will be an asset at that time of life."

If then, by the intelligent cultivation of right personality, we not only add thirty per cent to our effectiveness during our customary period from age twenty to age seventy, which, as said a moment ago, is equivalent to the addition of fifteen years to our life service: if we not only do this, but also, through the benefits of right personality to health, find ourselves able to continue working to age eighty, instead of having to quit at age seventy, we have added another ten years, which, with the fifteen years already spoken of, makes an addition of twenty-five whole years, a full quarter century, to our productive life! And all through the intelligent cultivation of right personality! And what if it would enable us to keep on till age ninety (as has more than once been done), that would add still another ten extra years!

Worth while, wouldn't it be? Young men of the Seminary, I beg you to begin this intelligent cultivation of right personality now, and to keep it up the rest of your lives!

"But," you cry, "we are already loaded with burdens to the sinking point; how can we take on any more?"

Yes, by sharp personal experience in just your situation, I know you are heavily loaded, that often you are carrying heroic burdens; and I sympathize with you, and admire your heroism.

But I am not asking you to take on an added burden, but

asking you to adopt a means of increasing your personal effectiveness in your work, asking you to assume and cultivate an attitude of soul that will promote calmness, health, vigor, endurance, personal power, and ability to get things done and done well; so that you will find yourselves helped and relieved rather than more burdened.

The main thing, practically, is to get the right attitude toward the matter of definite Christian-personality-improvement. And the second thing is to give the matter intelligent attention for five minutes a day five days in the week. Thus a definite ideal of personality-improvement will be adopted; and a definite practical habit of personality growth will be developed, and kept in continuous operation; and right personality development, with its benefits, will inevitably follow, to your great joy and increased effectiveness in your work as preachers of the Gospel of Christ.

This bit of effort in the matter of personality improvement, so far as concerns its adding to your burdens, may be compared with the few quarts of oil put in the oil vent of an automobile. (Illustrations from automobiles are popular in our day!) The oil adds a few pounds, it is true, to the load the car has to carry, comparable to the few minutes a day you would definitely devote to right personality building. But doesn't it make the car run more smoothly, and relieve friction and undue wear, thus increasing the car's present effectiveness, and greatly prolonging its life?

If you don't believe this, try running your car a year without any oil! But we run our poor personalities fifty years without their proper oil, and then wonder why they squeak so, and wear out so soon! Truly, we poor humans are more fussy about taking proper care of our cars, and getting the most out of them, than about taking proper care of our personal selves, and getting the most out of them!

And now, students of the Seminary, after thus urging you to make intelligent building of right personality an essential part of your life-program, I must begin to draw my address to a close. This is not the occasion for going into the details

of a personality-building program, beyond presenting a brief illustration in the line of the emotional life, to emphasize the importance of our subject, and a suggestion as to motive and method in right personality building for the minister.

Before giving the illustration, let me say that there are many helps available in this good work of moulding our souls aright, which can be named to us by those who have knowledge of the subject. We shall need to inform ourselves on the distinction between character and personality, so as to understand just what personality is, and the relation of character to it. We shall need a list of personality traits to avoid, because they are undesirable, and a list of desirable traits to cultivate, in our program of personality-building. And we shall need a method of utilizing effectively our five-minutes-a-day-five-days-in-the-week, in order to get the best results.

And now our illustration: Very common emotional faults, with us preachers as well as other folks, are discontent, uneasiness, nervous hurry, worry, anxiety, impatience, quick temper, an unforbearing spirit, harshness at times, intolerance, suspiciousness, undue sensitiveness, resentfulness (toward circumstances and things, as well as toward persons), bitter feeling, and two or three score more of faulty emotional states, which, if habitually indulged, not only undermine our health and distort our personality, but also mar our face and spoil our impression on and our influence with others.

Disappointment, depression, a pessimistic outlook, and a sort of hopelessness, also, are all too common, and have sad effects indeed. But we can't avoid disappointment at times, you say! Certainly we can't! But why cherish the feeling? And why let ourselves stick in the glooms and the dumps for eighty-seven days?²⁰

Specifically, I would urge, avoid contractive, depressive, bitter, hateful, malignant moods and feelings, don't let them

²⁰ On refusing to cherish feelings of disappointment see the sensible article by Vash Young in the *American Magazine* for September 1928, p. 30.

get impressed permanently upon your subconscious (your inmost soul) and built into your personality. For, if you let them get built in, they will not only rob you of contentment and happiness, and tend to undermine your health, and to shorten your life, but they will express themselves in your face and manner, and thus spoil the impression you make, and undermine your influence with others.

On the other hand, cherish and cultivate in yourself expansive, appreciative, cheerful, hopeful, kindly, benevolent sentiments and dispositions, get them impressed as profoundly as you can on your subconscious and built into your personality, and they will not only tend to make you happy, to improve your health, and to lengthen your life, but they will also helpfully express themselves in your face and manner, and tend to promote your favorable influence with men, give you power to reach them, and help them, and win them for Christ.

Surely we should watch our emotions, our feelings, our moods and dispositions, and take wise thought to have them right. The Bible, rightly used, will greatly help us here; and so will the example and the influence of the cheerful, hopeful, heroic Christ, our emotional Model and Ideal. If we keep in the atmosphere of His influence, it will tend strongly to keep our emotional life right.

And now, in conclusion, let us remind ourselves that Christ our Lord, in whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead (Col. ii. 9), was, from the point of view of His human nature, an ideal personage; He had an ideal character, an ideal personality; in Himself He realized the ideal humanity for us all; He was, and appeared to be, and impressed men as, the Model and Ideal Man.

And, as such, He becomes the model of character and of personality for us all, and especially for us ministers of His Gospel. And it is our duty, and our exalted privilege, and one of the principal means of our usefulness in His service, that in the building of our character and our personality we should make Him our model and ideal; and that, so far as our per-

sonal limitations permit, we should make ourselves grow to be like Him.

For, to be as nearly as we may Christ-like, in character and spirit, in personality, and in impression on others, is our proper aim and ideal in this life, as Christians, and especially as Christian ministers officially representing Christ before men.

And the means of attaining this aim and ideal, according to the master apostle Paul, is to contemplate Christ our Model with "the eye of the heart," lovingly, adoringly, with holy aspiration and longing, until by the subtle and mystical impress of His personality we are transformed into His image! "And we all with unveiled face contemplating as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image, from glory unto glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." (2 Cor. iii. 18.)

And thus it is that, to the discerning soul, the study of Christ's personality, His personal appearance, and the impression He made on men, is eminently and blessedly practical, in that it helps to bring His full inspiring uplifting impression to bear upon our minds and hearts, impelling us to become "like Him,"—which likeness is our glorious destiny. (See 1 Jn. iii. 2.)

And, young men of the Seminary, may it be that, under this benign influence of the Master upon your minds and hearts, your preparation for the ministry, in the seminary, and on into the coming years, may run parallel with His preparation for His ministry, and that, through the development of right personality, personality like His, you may find yourselves increasing, as He did, in wisdom as well as age, and in favor with God and men! (Lk. ii. 52.) And may God richly bless you!

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CHARLES A. MITCHELL.

WHAT CHARLES DARWIN REALLY FOUND

The Darwinian Theory of Evolution "is proved up to the hilt." It is a widely current phrase, easily disputable in many directions, but repeated as an echo of the dogmatism of scientific authority. It is said that there is a sort of duel, Science *v.* Religion. And the trouble about religion is understood to be its dogmatism. But the remedy for this is not for science to set up a dogmatism also. The revelations of God in His Word and His Works, each interpreting the other, can make out truth between them; but the battle of the dogmatisms will never accomplish it.

When the President of the British Association¹ answers affirmatively his question, whether Darwin was right when he said that "man has been raised from anthropoid apes *under the action of biological forces*" that is to say biological forces alone, he is compelled to draw attention to one at least of the many unsolved difficulties. "Will the day ever come," he queries, "when we can explain why the brain of man has made such progress, while that of his cousin the gorilla has fallen so far behind?"² Not at all a proven hypothesis then!

It may well be an aspiration that science will relinquish the dogmatic attitude, and betake herself seriously to accuracy of proof, since presumably the object is not necessarily negation of religion but affirmation of truth.

As then it may be presumed that this latter is the object of all alike, it can hardly fail to be helpful to try and set out, as clearly as may be, what it actually is of the Darwinian theory which has been "proved up to the hilt."

The world of living organisms confessedly consists of many gradations rising in the main from the simplest to the most complex forms. It is divided scientifically into families, orders, genera and species, varying according to certain dif-

¹ Sir Arthur Keith, Presidential Address to the British Association, August 31, 1927.

² Professor Thomson of Aberdeen says in his book *What is Man?*, "No normal man has less than twice the cranial capacity of the orang or chimpanzee." "This fine cerebral cortex with its 9,200,000,000 nerve cells is the protoplasmic correlate of man's true insignia" (p. 25).

ferences of quality and function. But to allow that species exist, is quite a different matter from explaining their origin, from predicating that they grew out of one another or from a common ancestry, and if so in what manner they grew.

The former of these two propositions Darwin seems to have taken for granted: it was the latter which he set himself to solve. He named the method "Natural Selection or the Survival of the Fittest." Of this we have his own explanation: "The preservation of favourable individual differences and variations (in the struggle for existence) and the destruction of those which are injurious."³ And the method of its working is given in the words of Wallace, his greatest exponent: "It rests on two main classes of facts: (1) Rapid multiplication—and hence struggle for existence. (2) Constant variation of offspring; among which some are 'saving variations,' such as strength, swiftness, hardiness, cunning and prolificness."⁴

This we think reasonable. Experience seems to show us this process *eliminating less fit species*, and so giving larger opportunity to the more fit. But this is not at all the same thing as *creating new ones*. Still less does it justify the assumption that this process alone, blindly working as the essential principle of a mindless abstraction called Nature, is sufficient to account for the development, through countless aeons, of all the elaborate apparatus of life.

How far has this been *scientifically proved*? Darwin himself did not claim it. His reiterated phrase was "We may well suppose." It occurs, as has been said, "over 800 times in his two principal works." Supposition is not proof. The utmost Darwin claimed was this: "Although much remains obscure . . . I am convinced that Natural Selection has been the most important *though not the exclusive* means of modification;"⁵ and so Wallace, "Whatever *other causes* have been at work Natural Selection is supreme." Or, to bring the

³ *Origin of Species*, Vol. I, p. 121.

⁴ Wallace, *Darwinism*, p. 10.

⁵ Cf. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 444. Introduction to "Origin of Species."

verdict down to recent times, Conklin says, "Of course no scientist in his senses supposes that the whole of Nature has been explored or that more than a faint beginning has been made in the discovery of natural laws";⁶ and Thomson makes the same admission; "As to the origin of new departures we know little. The question is so dark that perhaps the less said the better. Perhaps the problem will always elude us."⁷

Herein speaks the voice of scientific reserve. Shall we not say a *necessary* reserve? Can it be philosophically or scientifically reasonable to try and rest all the marvellous complexity of animal and human powers and all the unsolved mystery of life on the unintelligent action of one mechanical law? It is a natural tendency to be content with simple explanations; but the phenomena of nature are not simple but immensely complicated. Even the physical laws as yet are little known. New principles emerge under the researches of science almost month by month. Wisdom should lead us to be suspicious of too simple an explanation of the origin of phenomena, not to welcome it. Yet who can doubt that in popular acceptation, and indeed in not a little of our modern semi-scientific literature, what is "proved up to the hilt" is supposed to be the thesis that "Natural Selection or the Survival of the Fittest," is to be accepted as the sole sufficient explanation of the origin of all the complexities of the world we live in.

This, then, is the theory which we must proceed to put to the test. Be it remembered that we are dealing with the whole range of phenomena; at one end inorganic matter, at the other the highest development of man. And in any really scientific explanation there are several conditions which must be postulated: (1) That the cause shall be shown to have acted *continuously* in unbroken sequence throughout.

⁶ *The Direction of Human Evolution* (Oxford University Press), p. 194.

⁷ *Op Cit.*, pp. 136, 137.

(2) That it shall be sufficient to account for *all* the phenomena. (3) That there can be found *no other* cause.

1. The strength of a chain is that of its weakest link. If there occurs any break in the chain of evidence for a continuous evolution it invalidates the theory. Yet that in this respect Darwin's system of Evolution fails the following quotation from Wallace's *Darwinism* clearly shows: "There are at least three stages in the development of the organic world when some new cause or power must necessarily have come into action. The first stage is the change from inorganic to organic. . . . The next stage is still more completely beyond all possibility of explanation by matter, its laws and forces, it is the introduction of sensation or consciousness. . . . The third stage is . . . the existence in man of a number of his most characteristic and noblest faculties, those which raise him furthest above the brutes. . . . These faculties could not possibly have been developed by means of the same laws which have determined the progressive development of the organic world in general and also of man's physical organism."⁸

2. There are phenomena that the theory is wholly inadequate to account for.

a. Physical. "There are divergences of structure so great that we cannot understand how they had their beginning."⁹ As a single example may be mentioned the marvellous mechanism of the eye in its connection with mind through brain. The thought of it even to the last gave Darwin "a cold shiver" as the apostle of mechanical evolution, and kept him awake o' nights. The human eye; more marvellous still the eye of eagle or ostrich, or carrier pigeon or fly! Very derisory the suggestion that it can have had its origin quite casually in "pigment covered with a translucent skin"¹⁰ and developed itself mechanically by mating with others which had the same peculiarity and so were fitter to survive.

⁸ P. 474.

⁹ Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

b. *Mental*. There are instincts to be accounted for, of ants, for example, or bees; in the latter case, for instance, how they know that the hexagonal shape for cells is the most economical of wax. *Instincts*, rudiments of intelligence and reason: there is no place for such in a blind mechanism of nature. And parent-love of offspring and instruction of nursling by parent¹¹—there is no place even for rudiments of love in heartless machinery. And there is *will* to survive, with its corollary of will that offspring should survive, which incidentally *may* imply the survival of the unfit or less fit. There is *imitation* confronting us. Some of its numerous examples might conceivably be explained by survival of like variations through countless successive generations; but this is no adequate account of many phenomena of what is called “masking” by which not species only but individual insects and reptiles find safety by assimilating themselves even temporarily in color or form to their habitat, showing evidence of rudiments of purpose, as is most clearly seen in the momentary color transformations of the chameleon, or the quick-change self-camouflage of the spider crab described by Mr. W. P. Pyecraft,¹² or the tribal organization of baboons to plunder a South African vineyard, or to kill a predatory cheetah.¹³ But any element of purpose is wholly alien from Nature’s mechanical processes.

c. And in human life, if for the sake of the moment’s argument we should grant the possibility of an evolution of intellect and will power and points of character by *natural selection alone*, because by means of such faculties man is more fitted to survive than other animals, yet what shall be said of the emergence of transient manifestations of genius in music and art and letters, which have no connection with power to survive, and with the origin and transmission of which the common principles of heredity seem often to have

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹² *Nature’s Camouflage*, p. 113.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

no connection, your Shakespeares having no sufficient ancestry or environment to account for them.¹⁴

d. And, to crown all, the transcendence of Jesus Christ, cannot, any more than other less unique phenomena, be ignored if the hypothesis of unguided Natural Selection is to be maintained. If the First Cause is only a forgotten and forgetful God far back in the ages; and the immediate origin of Christ as of the rest of us lies only in "mutations" occurring in ancestry, then who shall declare His generation? And was He not, in face of His environment of human depravity, most of all men unfitted to survive?

3. Is it proved then that Natural Selection is the *only* cause, when we find all about us in creation traces of instinct, of intelligence, of love, of will and purpose, and come face to face with the highest manifestations of human intellect and character, artistic genius and self-sacrificing love?

This theory of Evolution was Darwin's *splendid guess*.¹⁵ It constituted an induction, based upon his laborious researches into natural phenomena. Real science, however, does not accept inductions until it has subjected them to the test of experiment; and in Darwin's time, and ever since his time, many of the most diligent students of biology have concentrated their attention on various aspects of this problem, and a great deal of further evidence has been forthcoming bearing upon it. Can it be truthfully said to have proved the Darwinian hypothesis? "It is," said Professor Schaler, "a hypothesis still unverified," and to the same effect Professor Virchow of Berlin, "The attempt to find the transition from the animal to man has ended in total failure." We see the different families, orders, genera and species. They seem to be in a rising succession of perfectness of function and elaboration of mechanism; but what is missing

¹⁴ Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

¹⁵ Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 461: "Darwin's whole argument tends to the conclusion that man's entire nature and all his faculties, whether moral, intellectual or spiritual, have been derived from their rudiments in the lower animals, in the same manner and by the action of the same general laws as his physical structure has been derived."

is the bridge, or bridges, by which "Nature" made the passage from one to another.

This can best be illustrated by a popular example. A large part of the civilized world, so far from being convinced of this "proof up to the hilt," takes a nervous interest in the search for "the Missing Link." The search goes on, not because the theory is proved, but in order that perchance it may be. But, when, once and again, news is flashed across the world that some jawbone has been unearthed which, in the opinion of some learned biologist, may be a portion of the missing link between man and ape, no one seems to realize that one missing link by itself would be hopelessly insufficient. Minds, scientific and unscientific alike, seem to be content to dally with this unproved hypothesis as if it could already be taken for gospel. It should be *tested* in the light of the latest scientific investigations in order to see how far the observed differentiae of *homo sapiens* can be made practically to fit in with this evolutionary hypothesis.

What are the essential differences between man and ape? They are *at the least* five:¹⁶

- a. *Brain*, twice the size.
- b. *Hand*, "the most striking difference."
- c. *Leg and Arm*, relatively different in length.
- d. *Posture erect*.
- e. *Language*, "the most stupendous invention ever made."¹⁷

These are five *mutations*, supposed to be used by "Nature" in her factory. But whatever assumption we may make to account for the "natural" origin of mutations, we cannot imagine them as occurring in *groups*, but singly. So when an anthropoid manifested *a*, it would have had to *meet with another* which also had this special mutation. The chance of two such meeting *accidentally* must be almost infinitesimal. If it *should* occur, then their offspring would shew the *a* mutation, or according to Mendel some of them would.

¹⁶ Professor J. Arthur Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 1, footnote.

¹⁷ Professor A. H. Sayce, Queen's College, Oxford.

But these, in their mating with the enormous surrounding preponderance of normal anthropoids, would by sheer force of numbers rapidly have the *a* obliterated, however necessary its survival might be towards the evolutionary construction of humanity. Let this first step, however, be granted. It will be necessary, in the gradual approximation to the human species, to take a further step and assume two others, both alike having the *double mutation* $a + b$. And then, as all is to be left to accident, who can fail to realize the infinitely minute chance that these two also should meet and mate and *their* offspring survive? And as we proceed to visualize the individuals rising in successive complexity $a + b + c$ and then later $a + b + c + d$ and finally the whole five mutations combined by some amazing accident in each of two individuals, then the mating of these, *by purely natural processes* undirected, how infinitely absurd and extravagant does such a theory become. And yet there must be two such if *homo sapiens* is to come into existence racially and breed true offspring:—*two* (the chances of *three* or more being enormously more remote), *two* then, *Nature's Adam and Eve*. Postulate them as simultaneously existing, yet how impossible for them to meet, without Intelligence cooperating. How much more reasonable the method suggested in Gen. ii. 22! We are to suppose, however, that the unimaginable accident happened—that these two met, mated and bred and then later on, that many of their offspring took to themselves mates from among the surrounding apes, or rather “anthropoids,” if we are to assume these intermediary beings of which in no geological strata any evidence survives.¹⁸ These would not breed “true to type” but would give birth to a new generation of variants, some “dominant,” others “recessive,” in certain proportions according to the Abbé Mendel's investigations, a numerous and heterogeneous population.

How absurd to imagine that out of all these, one “Taung

¹⁸ “The scientific teaching is that man is a scion of a *stock common* to him and the higher apes.” “Is any extinct type known, which can be regarded as the common ancestor? This link is missing” (Professor J. A. Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 15).

skull" or a single "Piltdown skull" or even a stray jawbone could be the sole surviving relic in the geological strata which represent their common habitat in the days when they lived and bred and fought together! Could it be that every trace would have been obliterated of the promiscuous products of Nature's experiments in the anthropoids intermarrying?

And another difficulty equally great looms in the background, namely, this: that if Nature unaided had been able in the first instance to evolve man from the anthropoid, then not only should we have found geological traces of the original common ancestor which are conspicuous by their absence, but the same process would have gone on repeating itself all down the ages with numbers of "missing links" cropping up in successive geological strata,¹⁹ and some new monkey-men emerging even up to the present day. Dame Nature has no will nor power of her own, that having accomplished this, or any, special evolution far back in the ages, she should have called a halt and proclaimed to herself, "Hitherto and no further."

But although the hypothesis—the Splendid Guess—has found no verification in *Nature*, yet a scientific test of another kind has been applied. Evolution as a real mechanism producing new subspecies has been verified. Where *Nature* fails, *man* has succeeded. The breeder has intervened making new subspecies and demonstrating how they can be made. And it transpires that they arise not by mating together the specimens that are fittest to survive of existing species, for Dr. Weismann's theory of heredity, stands in the way;—the continuity of the germ-plasm, making it impossible to inherit acquired characteristics, but innate ones only.²⁰ So

¹⁹ See also Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 458: "A large population spread over an extensive area is also needed to supply an adequate number of brain variations for man's progressive improvement; but this large population and long-continued development in a single line of advance renders it more difficult to account for the complete absence of human or pre-human remains in all those deposits which have furnished in such rich abundance the remains of other land animals."

²⁰ Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

that there must needs be variations in individuals, if variation is to be perpetuated in the offspring. The actual method, as experiment demonstrates, is that of breeding together individuals which have *similar variations*. "Mutations" science calls them; "sports" is the breeder's name. And as Darwin more, probably, than any other man operated on these lines of man-directed evolution, more and more doubtless he believed he had found the verification of his hypothesis, in a series of experiments which proved the reality of his method. Here was selection turning out of Nature's workshop new subspecies, which if they were fit enough, would survive. Here it seemed, at first sight, was Nature's Evolution guaranteed by man's; guaranteed in great quantities through the laborious researches of Darwin himself and his disciples in the interests of science, and by breeders in search of material advantage.

To this extent then it is that the Darwinian Hypothesis has been proved: man can produce subspecies by means of scientific breeding. Yet true science is inexorable. Is it true that the whole position is now clear, or are there further questions still demanding solution? There are *two*: (1) Where do the mutations come from? (2) Can Nature work them as man can?

1. The origin of mutations, to begin with, is a hopeless mystery. Hitherto, the most diligent research has thrown no glimmer of light upon the source of them. To suggest that it is a "throwback" to some ancestor in the line of heredity is no help, for the ancestral variation would still equally need accounting for. The latest attempt at a solution is to have recourse to the modern method of avoiding difficulties by inventing a formula.²¹

"*Creative Evolution*" is suggested: but this is no explanation; little else indeed than a "contradiction in terms": Nature's Evolution with creative power imported into what

²¹ Professor J. Arthur Thomson (*op. cit.*, p. 17) would account for the origin of the human brain as a "cerebral mutation," a "brusque or transilient advance," "a discontinuous or saltatory improvement."

was supposed to need no intervention of any Creator in its processes. "It explains evolution from amoeba to man by the original constitution of amoeba . . . it pushes back the mystery to earlier and earlier causes; but in the last cause studied it leaves that mystery as great and as inexplicable as ever."²² And when Bergson suggests "Emergent Evolution," it is no better solution, postulating as it does an emergence, without stating wherefrom or whereby. And even if Deity is assumed as the ultimate source of the amoeba, how much does the Deistic conception amount to, "God made one protoplastic cell (a hermaphrodite) and disappeared."

This materialistic tendency of science to develop a theory of Nature without God, can hardly be considered surprising. Having concerned itself *ab initio* with investigations of the material only, there is little wonder that it fails to find in its conclusion what was carefully excluded from the premises. Having satisfied themselves with the assumption however erroneous that natural law has sufficiently accounted for the *later* phases of evolution, its apostles not unnaturally desire to carry the same system back to the phases that are *most remote*. But what really is very surprising is that ordinary human beings should be content to have it so. We rest our lives upon the sources of power. We need spiritual companionship, human, if no other. By all analogies of the life-long and agelong experience of mankind we postulate intelligence as collateral with and supreme over mechanism. This is a rare instance of the *Perfect Induction* to which there has been recorded no single exception in either individual or racial experience, that where there is a machine there is to be postulated *an intelligence* which devised it and must superintend its regular working. Instinctively we refer our lives to the great sources of living. Strange then that there should be such ready acquiescence in leaving us fatherless or if children yet only offspring of an *Epicurean* God, left by His neglectful connivance to be playthings of the mechanism of a blind materialism.

²² Conklin, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

2. But is this the true conclusion which results from the experimental test? It affirmed the Darwinian hypothesis just to this extent, that it is by selection that new subspecies can be formed. Does it endorse the conclusion that Nature unaided can operate it? Obviously it is quite otherwise. Obviously there is one vital difference between the method of Darwin's original induction and that of the experiments by which it is tested. It consists in the *dual* nature of the facts, experimentally adduced. No longer does it deal with the purely material, but in every case *intelligence* is postulated—*human* intelligence—as a necessary ingredient in producing the result. In these test cases of man-made evolution, we see *mind* working upon matter, using processes various, and often of great complexity, discovering methods of evolution, and with laborious care and watchfulness elaborating new subspecies, *which Nature is unable to produce*. This assertion of Nature's inability cuts to the very root of the matter. *Human intelligence* made these new subspecies. Nature unaided would never have made them.

Does this sound at first sight to be a disputable assertion? Yet it appears to be of the essence of these experimental tests, as it is presented in several of Wallace's illuminating passages. "All our *apples* are known to have descended from the common crab of our hedges (*pyrus malus*) and from this at least a thousand distinct varieties have been produced," that is by human selection. "There is no doubt whatever that all the various races and breeds of domestic *pigeons* have been derived 'by human selection' from one wild species, the common rock pigeon (*columbia livea*)," and so far from Nature having been able to produce such results, Darwin found them, when deprived of the breeder's care, reverting to the rock pigeon again. And still more lucidly Wallace explains in general;—"Most of our domesticated animals and cultivated plants . . . have been the subjects of *human care and selection* for some thousands of years, the result being that in many cases we do not know

the wild stock from which they originally sprang.”²³ The buffalo, ranging the American prairies, is “Nature’s product” (whatever that convenient phrase may be supposed actually to mean), and having become fixed according to its environment, shows no tendency to make variant species, but multiplies “after its kind.” Yet all the many species of cattle of our day, as Wallace explains, are the outcome of the *intelligent interference of man* working upon this original stock.

What are the chances that in the course of *Nature*, among the vast number of normal individuals, similar “sports” shall meet? If they happen to do so the possibility of Nature perpetuating such a variation, or group of variations, is discounted arithmetically by the inbreeding of the few abnormal with the preponderating masses of the normal. So the breeder finds that he has to adopt still more elaborate devices in order to *fix* the new subspecies, sometimes inbreeding with one of the original ancestors.

Specially complicated is the cultivation of the orchid. One breeder of this strange and beautiful flower told the writer that establishing a new subspecies was a five years’ task.

These then are cases, numbers of them, of fact, not of conjecture, in which new subspecies have confessedly been evolved, not indeed directly by “survival of the fittest” but by a process of “selection,” breeding from “mutations” or sports. It may be confidently suggested that it has been by these analogies of *humanly* conducted evolution constantly repeated and elaborated, an ever-increasing volume of evidence, that the Darwinian Theory stands in its present position, as accepted by general assent. But by some strange obscurity of vision the central fact seems to be missed, that there has been imported into these experimental tests an ingredient which was absent from the data on which the original hypothesis was formed. Man’s evolutions are material of scientific investigation entirely as much as those of Nature; but they are *complete* facts, double in their reference. Here there is none of the scientific isolation of *physi-*

²³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 87, 89 and 97.

cal causes from spiritual intervention and control—an isolation which has partially vitiated the original investigation and the hypothesis to which it led.

These evolutions of man's production are wrought by *intelligence* operating on the physical. In *this* sphere confessedly intelligence is not ruled out, but is collaborating;—not collaborating only but predominant, nay apart from intelligence there would be no such results at all.

This, then, is the inevitable conclusion. On the one hand Nature powerless alone; on the other man working effectively by natural laws. This it is, which in reality has been “proved up to the hilt,” namely, that the original Hypothesis, the “splendid guess,” has failed in part to stand the test, that the formula needs to be rewritten. No longer can it be said that “Natural Selection” suffices to account for the “origin of species”; for it is by “Intelligent Selection,” using for its purposes variants which unaccountably occur, that such changes have been produced as can be cited in support of the Darwinian theory.

And herein are opened up by analogy vistas of thought which would lead us into regions of speculation far beyond where our present limited knowledge can penetrate. Shall we then fashion for ourselves a new hypothesis, that since *Natural* Selection has been proved powerless it was *Transcendent* Intelligence which operated “in the beginning”? Yet we gather that there came a period when the main processes of Creation or of Intelligent Evolution had an end (Gen. ii. 3); and that thenceforward God has been content to watch over His elaborated scheme of life and uphold it. But just as in general He has put His world in our charge, so in the matter of Evolution He has entrusted us with certain limited powers, in proportion to our knowledge. Yet in testing, and so necessarily limiting the original hypothesis in the only really scientific way, by facts, and reducing the evolutionary method from “*Natural*” to “*Intelligent* Selection,” it must not escape us that a further limitation has to be faced. These instances of man-made evolu-

tion are concerned with *subspecies* only. Logically it might be argued that a similar method should be *presupposed* as having been effective in the wider sphere, to make further transition from one *species* to another, and from one *genus* to another, and from *order* to *order* and from *class* to *class*. But logical as such a view may seem it must not be *assumed*. For if we agree that hypotheses must be verified by facts, then of the evolutionary origin of these wider divisions, there are *no* facts. The divisions exist; but bridges between them are unknown. "In all this great (British) Museum," Dr. Etheridge is recorded as saying, "there is not a particle of evidence of transmutation of species." More than this the accumulation of physiological research seems only to emphasize the strength of the existing barriers, as shown, for instance, in the limited possibilities of transfusion of blood, and in the limited fertility of hybrids. And the zoologist as he watches the varieties of sheep and goats, herded together generation after generation without mating, or contemplates all the feathered tribes of our woodlands who amid all their crowded life together preserve their distinctions of measurement and coloring, and even of song, year in and year out, can hardly fail to be reminded of a certain ancient treatise which speaks of things in Nature as reproducing "after their kind."

Thus far, then, the evolutionist may hold his hypothesis as proved by sufficient facts of observation and experiment: "*Intelligent Selection*, within specific bounds." But he looks abroad at all the wonderful and beautiful complexity of Nature and sees vast fields yet open to his exploration, and life wrapped up in mysteries still unsolved. He has before him still the old alternative *Creation* or *Evolution*. He sees *mutations* as the necessary basis of every evolution and since *Evolution* itself has no explanation of them, what is his alternative but to believe them products of the Great Creative Power? *Origin of genera, orders and classes* rests still in the balance. When, then, decisive evidence does appear will it point to *Creation* for their origin or to *Evolution* by

Intelligent Selection? To *active Intelligence anyhow*. But if Evolution is claimed by analogy as the hypothesis, how then account for the fact that there came a period far back in the ages, when a line of demarcation was drawn, and there have been no further products of such evolution since. And if an attempt is still made by any to exclude Intelligence and leave all to blind forces of "Nature" acting uncontrolled, how then can we account for all the amazing machinery of Nature and all its infinite variety of pattern and loveliness of artistic design? How can we do so in face of that universal induction drawn from the unbroken experience of our whole race all down the ages, which postulates, without fear of contradiction, for every mechanism an Intelligence which planned it and for every beauty of color and design an Intelligent artificer?

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THE ALLEGED ARAMAIC ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

In his article on "The Approach to the New Testament" which appeared in the *New Standard Bible Dictionary*,¹ Dr. James Moffatt mentions as the two outstanding questions of today: "(a) the original language of the Gospels, including the Fourth Gospel, and (b) the relation of Paul's theology to contemporary cults in the sphere of pagan religion"; and he adds, "The former is important, as it suggests the possibility that here and there the passage of the tradition from Aramaic or Hebrew into Greek may have altered the sense of a saying." The significance of this statement is obvious. It means that if this theory is adopted, our authority can no longer be the Gospels in Greek, but the hypothetical Aramaic (or Hebrew) original supposed to lie back of the Greek text which has come down to us. In other words the New Testament scholar would have to ask himself not merely whether he had the correct Greek text of a given passage and was interpreting it correctly, but the further question whether this Greek text correctly represented a non-existent, non-Greek original. The one question is mainly objective; the other is decidedly speculative. The one deals with documentary, the other with conjectural evidence. And what is most important of all the alleged Aramaic original is of little more than academic interest unless it can be used to improve or correct the Greek text, which is equivalent to asserting that this text which Christians have for centuries believed to be the divinely inspired original, is to be regarded not merely as a translation but in some respects a poor and even incorrect translation from an original for the existence of which there is no manuscript evidence whatsoever.

In view of the important bearing of this theory upon the trustworthiness of the Greek text of the Gospel we are entitled to ask for convincing proof of its correctness. In the Introduction to his *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gos-*

¹ P. 12.

*pel*² Dr. Burney tells us that in a sermon preached in June 1920 before the University of Oxford he "put forward the possibility that in the future a Semitic scholar might arise who, examining the language of the Fourth Gospel in detail, would prove beyond the range of reasonable doubt that it was based upon an Aramaic original." He then goes on to say that in making this "somewhat bold prophecy" he had at the time no thought of undertaking the task himself. But the short interval which elapsed between the delivery of the sermon and the appearance of the volume would seem to indicate that the decision to do this was reached comparatively soon after the prophecy was made.

The aim of Dr. Burney's book is clearly set forth in the words which we have quoted. It is to prove beyond "reasonable doubt" that the Fourth Gospel is based upon an Aramaic original, and this is to be accomplished by "examining the language of the Fourth Gospel in detail." It is to be particularly noted that Dr. Burney himself declares that to establish his contention he must prove beyond *reasonable doubt* the existence of this Aramaic original. This means that the burden of proof rests with those who accept the theory of an Aramaic original of the Fourth Gospel. It is for them to prove this thesis. It is not the duty of the objector to disprove it. This should be clearly understood. And since this question is one which is attracting considerable attention in the theological world we shall now devote ourselves to a somewhat belated examination of Dr. Burney's thesis and the arguments with which he supports it. It is not our purpose to examine all the evidence advanced by Dr. Burney. This would require the writing of a book as long if not longer than his own. Our purpose is the more restricted one of examining the strongest proofs which he cites and considering the bearing of his theory as a whole.

² *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, by Rev. C. F. Burney, M.A., D.Litt., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, Fellow of Oriel and St. John's College, Oxford, Canon of Rochester. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1922. 8vo. Pp. 176.

The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel consists of nine chapters, which are preceded by an Introduction and followed by an Appendix. In the first chapter Dr. Burney presents a "Preliminary Testing of the Theory by Examination of the Prologue." The five chapters which follow deal in a systematic way with certain grammatical phenomena which Dr. Burney regards as typically Aramaic. They are entitled: The Sentence, Conjunctions, Pronouns, The Verb, Negatives. Chapter VII gathers together a number of what Dr. Burney claims to be "Mistranslations of the Original Aramaic of the Gospel," many of which have already been discussed in the preceding chapters. Chapter VIII deals with "Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel." Chapter IX, styled "Epilogue," deals with the authorship and date of the Gospel.³ In the following discussion attention will be directed almost entirely to the chapters which deal with the grammatical problems (Chapters II-VI) and with the question of mistranslations (Chapter VII). One example or more will be taken from each of the former. But the question of *mistranslations* will be dealt with in more detail since it constitutes as Dr. Burney truly says the strongest evidence which can be produced in support of the theory that the Fourth Gospel is a translation from an Aramaic original.

Asyndeton

The discussion of "Asyndeton"⁴ illustrates quite clearly the precariousness of some of the arguments advanced by Dr. Burney in support of his thesis. In the opening paragraph he points out that it is "highly characteristic of Aramaic to open its sentences abruptly without the use of a connective particle" and that this is in marked contrast with the Hebrew where the use of "and" is very frequent. This dif-

³ In this Chapter Dr. Burney argues that the Fourth Gospel was written probably about A.D. 75-80 and at Antioch, that its author was a young priestly disciple of the Lord but not an Apostle, and that he was also the author of the Apocalypse and the Epistles.

⁴ Pp. 49ff.

ference is illustrated by comparing passages from the Book of Daniel, the Aramaic passages illustrating the asyndetic or periodic style, the Hebrew passages illustrating the connective. Then Dr. Burney proceeds to argue that the fact of a much more frequent use of asyndeton in John than in the Synoptists supports the thesis which he is endeavoring to establish. It should be noted, therefore, that Dr. Burney is looking at the question too exclusively from the Semitic angle. The Greek side of the question should also be presented. Thus in Blass-Debrunner⁵ it is pointed out that these two types of sentences, the connective and the disjunctive or periodic, were clearly distinguished by Aristotle. The following statement is important for its bearing upon Dr. Burney's argument: "The periodic style is that of the developed, artistic prose, the connective style is that of the simple, popular speech of all periods and so also of the earliest Greek prose and in general also of the narrative of the New Testament, which in this respect agrees with the Semitic languages; with the first topic, which is complete in itself, there connects itself a second similar one, usually joined by means of *καί* (Heb. ו) then a third and so on in an endless series, a sameness of usage (*Einformigkeit*) which has impressed itself especially upon the narrative of Mark, but also appears frequently in Matthew, Luke and John."⁶ Elsewhere the frequent use of the "and" is described as "unattractive and vulgar."⁷ Consequently it would seem that the greater frequency of asyndeton in John may find a natural explanation in the better quality of its Greek without having recourse to the Aramaic theory. It would be different if Dr. Burney could point to something more distinctively Aramaic, like the *waw* of the *apodosis* in Hebrew (cf. Lk. ii. 21). How precarious is the argument from asyndeton is illustrated for example by so familiar a passage as 1 Cor. xiii. There in the first three verses "and" or "and if" occurs six

⁵ *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 4te Auflage, 1913.

⁶ Blass-Debrunner, § 458.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 442.

times. But in the remaining ten verses "and" is used only twice in all, and only once to connect clauses. Especially noteworthy is vs. 4, where the AV inserts "and" once and if it were strictly consistent, would do so twice. Yet surely no one will argue that Paul is influenced here by the Aramaic, or claim an Aramaic original of this passage.

The weakness of this argument from *asyndeton* is further illustrated by Dr. Burney's discussion of *οὐν*. This particle occurs he tells us "some two hundred times" in John⁸ or more than twice as frequently as in the three Synoptics taken together. And he assures us that in "literally scores of verses" in John *οὐν* with the Greek aorist is equivalent to Hebrew *waw consecutive* with the imperfect.⁹ This need not mean, he tells us, that John or Mark (whose use of *εὐθύς* Dr. Burney like Dr. Burkitt regards as the equivalent of *waw consecutive*) is "a translation from the Hebrew," but may be due simply to the fact that "if the authors of these Gospels were familiar with the Old Testament otherwise than through the awkward medium of the LXX they might well have felt themselves in need of something to correspond to the Hebrew idiom." What is this if not an admission that "scores of times" John far from following the periodic style of the Aramaic uses a construction which corresponds to and is in a sense the equivalent of the connective style so characteristic of Hebrew, and of the Greek of the Synoptists?

Casus Pendens

In his Introduction Dr. Burney criticises quite severely the failure of some scholars to make a clear distinction between Aramaisms and Hebraisms.¹⁰ Yet Dr. Burney does not always make the distinction himself, or rather he claims as an argument for his thesis of the *Aramaic* original what is at most an illustration of Semitic, i.e., Hebrew or Aramaic influence. Thus, in discussing the emphatic use of the

⁸P. 66.

⁹P. 68, *n.*

¹⁰P. 7.

personal pronoun as subject or object (the "casus pendens" as he calls it),¹¹ he begins by citing examples to prove that this is found in both the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament. Furthermore in the last paragraph of this section he admits that this construction is not even "specifically a Semitism," but may be found in English or Greek. Yet he concludes the discussion by remarking: "An adequate answer is forthcoming in the assumption that a common Aramaic construction has been exactly reproduced in translation." While cautiously stated, this is, to say the least, a case of basing a rather narrow inference on a very general premise.

ʾIva as a "mistranslation" of *d^e relative*, "who," "which"

The frequency of *ʾIva* in John is, according to Dr. Burney, "one of the most remarkable phenomena in this Gospel. The approximate number of occurrences is 127; whereas in Mt. we find 33, in Mk. 60, in Lk. 40."¹² As far as the telic use of the conjunction is concerned he is impressed only by "the use of *ʾIva* *μή* to the exclusion of *μήποτε*."¹³ He admits that "the use of *ʾIva* = conjunctive *that*, followed by a finite verb where in classical Greek we should expect an Infinitive, is a well-ascertained characteristic of *Koinē* Greek. . . ." He is impressed only by the "extreme frequency" of this idiom which he feels may be due to the fact that the writers of Mk. and still more of John "were accustomed to think in Aramaic." And he points out that in the Pal. Syr., Pesh.,¹⁴ etc., we find *d^e* or *dī* used in these senses. There is as far as we can see no objection to such a view, since no one denies that Aramaic was certainly familiar to the Apostles and was used by the Lord Himself. But Dr. Burney goes further than

¹¹ P. 63f.

¹² P. 69.

¹³ *Vide infra.*, pp. 560 ff.

¹⁴ The following abbreviations of frequently occurring words are used in the course of this article: Palestinian Syriac (Pal. Syr.), Curetonian (Cur.), Sinaitic (Sin.), Peshitto (Pesh.), Septuagint (LXX), Westcott and Hort (WH).

this. He holds that there are passages in John where *ʾva* represents the Aramaic *d^e* or *dî* used in the sense of "who," "which," a meaning which is distinctly foreign to *ʾva*. This he believes "can hardly be explained except by the hypothesis of actual *mistranslation* of an original Aramaic document."¹⁵

Since this can only mean that the alleged translator of the Fourth Gospel into Greek was such a bungler that he rendered the Aramaic *d^e* by *ʾva* even where *ʾva* could not possibly have the meaning of *d^e*, these instances of alleged mistranslation must be very carefully tested. If true they will not merely constitute a serious reflection upon the Greek text of the Fourth Gospel, but will also go a long way toward proving the correctness of Dr. Burney's thesis. For, as he well says, "The most weighty form of evidence in proof that a document is a translation from another language is the existence of difficulties or peculiarities of language which can be shown to find their solution [we should prefer to say "their *only* solution"] in the theory of mistranslation from the assumed original language."¹⁶

The passages to be considered are these:

i. 8, "He was not the light but (was sent) to bear witness (ἀλλ' *ʾva* μαρτυρήσῃ) of the light." It is generally supposed that we have here a simple ellipsis, "was sent" being supplied from the "sent from God" of the preceding verse. Such ellipses are not rare in New Testament Greek (e.g. Gal. ii. 9, where "should go" is clearly required by the context). But to confine ourselves strictly to the case in point, we observe that after ἀλλά such an ellipsis would not be at all un-

¹⁵ P. 75. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the Aramaic it may be well to point out that the charge of mistranslation discussed in the following paragraphs rests upon the fact that the *d^e* of the Aramaic is used much more broadly than the Greek *ʾva*. The particle *d^e* is primarily a *relative* (originally demonstrative) pronoun which corresponds closely to the Hebrew relative אשר. But just as in Hebrew the אשר has acquired most of the uses of כִּי (that, because, etc.) so in Aramaic the *d^e* has become a relative conjunction which may have causal or even telic force.

¹⁶ P. 101.

natural,¹⁷ and that it occurs repeatedly in John. Thus in i. 31 we read "and I knew him not: but (I knew) that he should be made manifest to Israel"; iii. 17 "For God sent not his son unto the world to condemn the world; but (he sent his son) that the world through him might be saved" (cf. ix. 3, xi. 52, xii. 9, 47, xiii. 18, xiv. 31, xv. 25 and xvii. 15). These passages show clearly that an ellipsis between the *ἀλλά* and the *ἵνα* resulting in the juxtaposition of the two words is quite natural,¹⁸ although a phrase often separates them.¹⁹

Now it is Dr. Burney's contention that *ἵνα* should be taken as a mistranslation of the relative *d^e* and that the passage should be rendered "but *one who* was to bear witness of the light." It may be admitted that the writer or translator of the Fourth Gospel might have said this. But Dr. Burney has furnished us no proof that he actually did say it. It is not sufficient to remark that if his view is accepted "no such ellipse is required." Dr. Burney must first show that there is the slightest reason for objecting to the ellipsis.

v. 7, "I have no man *ἵνα* . . . βάλη me into the pool." Here Dr. Burney would render "I have not a man *who* . . . shall put me into the pool." The Pal. Syr. has "quite literally" *d^e* with imperfect for the *ἵνα* of the Greek. "The obvious meaning of this in Aramaic is," he tells us, "I have no man *who* . . . shall put me into the pool." But unless Dr. Burney is prepared to deny that in New Testament Greek the *ἵνα* clause may be used to express the infinitive,²⁰ he must admit that "I have no man to put me into the pool" is a perfectly natural and proper rendering of the Greek. And we have seen above that he describes it as a "well-ascertained characteristic of Κοινή Greek."

vi. 30, "What sign doest thou then, that (*ἵνα*) we may

¹⁷ Cf. Blass-Debrunner, § 480. 5; Winer (Eng. ed. 1897), p. 587.

¹⁸ For *ἀλλά* and *οὕτως*, cf. iii. 28, vi. 26, xii. 6, xix. 21.

¹⁹ Cf. v. 34, xi. 4, 11, 42, xii. 42, xv. 16, xvi. 2, 4, 7, xvii. 20, xix. 24. For *οὕτως* cf. v. 42, xi. 51, xv. 21, also x. 26, 33, xi. 22(?).

²⁰ Blass-Debrunner, § 369.

see and believe thee?" Here the telic force of the *lva* is perfectly proper to the context. There is no necessity for correcting this to read "What sign then doest thou *which* we may see?"²¹ This change is certainly not an improvement either in clearness or in force, upon the Greek. That Jesus had a purpose in performing His signs is plainly taught in the Scriptures. All that Dr. Burney succeeds in doing is to weaken the force of this declaration. In fact he tells us that "since the final force of *d^e* would here be appropriate in Aramaic as in the Greek *lva* the evidence of this passage is not pressed."²² We note that Burkitt renders the *d^e* of Cur., Sin. by "that."²³

vi. 50, "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that (*lva*) a man may eat thereof and not die." Here also the telic force of *lva* is quite suitable. There is no necessity for substituting "*which*, if." Dr. Burney assures us that the Pal. Syr. is "naturally" to be rendered in this way. This we deny. כִּנְה אִנְשׁ דִּיאֲכֹל אִנְשׁ can equally well be rendered "that" as Dr. Burney would readily admit were it not that he has a thesis to maintain. Burkitt renders it "that" in the case of Cur., Sin.²⁴

ix. 36, "And who is he, Lord, that (*lva*) I may believe on him?" Dr. Burney describes the Pal. Syr. as "quite literal"; and holds that כִּי דִּיהִיִּבִּין בָּהּ וּמִן הוּא כִּי "means without a doubt, 'and who is he, Lord, on whom I should believe?'" In view of this confident statement as to the meaning of this phrase

²¹ Dr. Burney says "Pal. Syr. quite literally, אֵת עֲבַר רִנְחָמָא." (Aramaic when cited will be given, as here, in unpointed Hebrew characters, except the particle כִּי which is transliterated "*d^e*.") It is to be noted that the text of the Pal. Syr. is uncertain, the three MSS. all differing. Dr. Burney apparently takes אֵת as the word for "sign." It seems more proper to regard it as the substantive verb, and to render "what art thou doing?"

²² If Dr. Burney finds any support for his rendering in the fact that *d^e* is followed by אֲנֵן (them), which might be regarded as completing the relative it is to be noted that this is the reading of Cod. B only. The pronoun אֲנֵן is not found in A or C.

²³ Cf. *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (Cambridge, 1904), Vol. I in loco.

²⁴ Cf. *op. cit.* in loco.

in Pal. Syr. it will be well to note that Burkitt renders these identical words "Who is he, my Lord, that I should believe in him?" without even commenting on the ambiguity of the phrase in Syriac.²⁵ This is sufficient proof we think that when Dr. Burney uses the words "without a doubt" they are to be taken as an expression of Dr. Burney's conviction and not as a statement of fact. As far as the Syriac is concerned either rendering is perfectly possible. Furthermore the interpretive value which Dr Burney assigns to this rendering is, we think, singularly weak: "This meaning is surely much more natural and appropriate than is the final sense given to *ʾva* by A.V., R.V., 'that I may believe on him,' which can hardly fail to make us discount the quality of the man's faith, suggesting, as it does, that his gratitude to our Lord made him willing to believe on any one whom He named." We are frank to confess that the distinction which Dr. Burney draws so confidently is not clear to us. The "that" seems clearly to imply that the healed man recognized that the Son of man must be one whom he ought to worship but about whom he wished to know more. The "on whom" seems to indicate that he was not clear in his own mind what Jesus meant when he spoke of the "Son of man." The one indicates both knowledge and intention on the part of the healed man. The other indicates uncertainty and perhaps indecision. For ourselves we prefer the former; and we fail to see why Dr. Burney should regard the other as "surely" preferable to it. Certainly it cannot be said to be raised above "reasonable doubt."

xiv. 16, "He will give you another Comforter, that (*ʾva*) he may abide with you forever." Here also Dr. Burney finds the Pal. Syr. (דיהא עמר עמכון) "quite literal" and he assures us that "the natural meaning" is: "He shall give you another Comforter, *who* shall abide with you forever." It is to be noted that Pesh. has *d*^o (דנהוא) which Burkitt renders by "that," which shows that in both Pal. Syr. and Pesh. this *d*^o

²⁵ *Op. cit.* in loco.

may properly be regarded as representing *ʾina*. Furthermore, the telic force of *ʾina* seems very appropriate here. Our Lord is preparing the disciples for His own departure. With a view to doing this He promises to send them the Comforter that He may abide with them always. The purpose is clearly that they may never be left alone. Or, if this explanation seems forced, the *ʾina* can be regarded as standing for the infinitive: "to abide with you."

After citing these six passages, one of which (the third) he himself regards as inconclusive, Dr. Burney remarks: "If the fact that *ʾina* in these passages is a mistranslation of *d^e* relative be thought to need further evidence to clinch it, this may be found in the variation between Mk. iv. 22 and the parallel passages Mt. x. 26, Lk. viii. 17 already noted." The passages read as follows: Mt. x. 26, "for there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed" (ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται); Mk. iv. 22, "for nothing is secret if not that it may be manifested" (ἐὰν μὴ *ʾina* φανερωθῇ); Lk. viii. 17, "for nothing is secret that shall not be made manifest" (ὃ οὐ φανερὸν γενήσεται). Only the third is given in Pal. Syr., where we read ܐܠܝܢ relative. Mk. iv. 22 is wanting in Sin., Cur. The Pesh. has ܐܠܝܢ in all three passages. But this does not prove that they are identical. It is to be noted that in Mk. the idea of purpose is strongly emphasized. Vs. 21 reads: "And he said unto them, Is a candle brought that (*ʾina*) it may be put under a bushel, or under a bed? and not that (*ʾina*) it may be set on a candlestick?" On this follows naturally vs. 22 "For there is nothing hid, but that (ἐὰν μὴ *ʾina*) it may be manifested," etc. In Mt. x. 26 there is nothing to suggest the idea of purpose. In Lk. viii. 17 the idea of purpose is present in the preceding context "that (*ʾina*) they which enter in may see the light," so that the use of "that" would be justifiable; but the relative is used instead. We cannot see that Dr. Burney can find any cogent evidence of mistranslation in this difference between these three passages. Were the three in all other respects strictly identical, there would be more

warrant for his use of them. But such is not the case as a careful comparison will convince the reader.

ὁτι as a "mistranslation" of d^e relative

Dr. Burney now goes on to examine several passages in which he regards *ὁτι* as a mistranslation of *d^e* relative.

ix. 17, "What sayest thou of him, that (*ὁτι*) he opened thine eyes?" The AV apparently regards the clause "that he opened thine eyes" as standing in apposition to the "what" (*τι*). This would imply that the Pharisees after the man had twice told them *how* he was healed and having failed to shake his testimony as to this, now raise the question as to whether Jesus was actually the author of the cure. What sayest thou of him?—that he opened thine eyes? Grammatically this rendering is quite suitable. Cf. "What think ye?—that he will not come to the feast?" (xi. 56); "What say I then? that the idol is anything?" (1 Cor. x. 19); "What shall we say then? that the Gentiles . . . have attained to righteousness?" (Rom. ix. 30). It will be objected perhaps that the answer given by the beggar, "He is a prophet," does not suit this interpretation, that we would then expect him to affirm his belief that Jesus was directly responsible for the cure. But when we remember that the healed man has, already, twice expressly and explicitly ascribed his healing to Jesus, it is not too much to suppose that he regarded the question of the Pharisees as superfluous and a reflection on his previous testimony and therefore answered it by making a statement regarding Jesus which would account for the cure wrought upon him by Jesus—"He is a prophet." Dr. Burney would render the verse: "What sayest thou of him *who* opened thine eyes?" He cites in its favor the fact that it is supported by the Arabic version of the Diatessaron. But this proves only that the translator of the Diatessaron into Arabic was led astray by the ambiguity of the Syriac *d^e*, which would be a natural rendering of the *ὁτι* of the Greek text. He also points out that the Old Latin reads "qui aperuit." On the other hand it is to be noted that unless

Dr. Burney's rendering "What sayest thou of him *who* opened thine eyes?" is to be regarded as ironical, or as a leading question designed to entrap the witness, this apparent acceptance of the view that Jesus opened the eyes of the beggar stands in direct conflict with the statement which immediately follows: "But the Jews did not believe concerning him, that he had been blind and received his sight until they called the parents of him that had received his sight." It is further to be noted that the $\tau\acute{\iota}$ may also be rendered "why" ("Why sayest thou of him that he opened thine eyes?"). This would make as good if not better sense than Dr. Burney's proposed rendering; and certainly no objection could be made to "that" ($\delta\tau\iota$) in such a connection.

The other examples cited by Dr. Burney are no more convincing. In viii. 45, $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \delta\epsilon\ \delta\tau\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$, the $\delta\tau\iota$ seems to be clearly intentional: "but I because the truth I speak." It is just *because* the Lord speaks the *truth* that the children of lies do not believe him. To say that "I *who* speak the truth" which we are told is the natural meaning of the Pal. Syr. "offers a superior antithesis to 'he is a liar' of the preceding verse" is clearly incorrect. It is decidedly weaker. The ambiguity of the Syriac is no proof that the Greek should have a weaker sense than it has. In i. 16 "*for* of his fulness," etc., Dr. Burney wishes to read "full of grace and truth was He *of whose* fulness we have all received." But it is to be noted that this rendering involves the transfer of vs. 15 to follow vs. 19, a change for which Dr. Burney cites no textual evidence; and that while Pal. Syr. has the d^e which Dr. Burney renders by "he who," both Cur. and Pesh. have "and" which may be regarded as a weakening of $\delta\tau\iota$, but does not favor the view that the original text had the d^e . In Mk. iv. 41 "What manner of man is this *for* ($\delta\tau\iota$) even the wind and the sea obey him," Dr. Burney would read "whom even the wind and the sea obey." The passage is not found in Pal. Syr. nor in Sin. or Cur. That the Aramaic would naturally use d^e is proved by Pesh. But the fact remains that the reading with $\delta\tau\iota$ makes good sense, since it clearly aims to give the

reason for the question. The rendering "whom" does not improve the sense and if anything weakens the force of the question. Similarly in Mk. viii. 24 "I behold men, for (ὅτι) I see them as trees walking," the "for" seems to explain how the partly healed man knew these tree-like beings were men: he saw them walking about. Why Dr. Burney should regard the ὅτι as "difficult" is not clear. To read "whom I see," etc., does not improve the sense materially if at all. Dr. Burney is evidently himself rather doubtful of this passage. He tells us that an example of *d^e* relative "may very possibly be seen here." In the case of Mt. xiii. 16, "blessed are your eyes for (ὅτι) they see," etc., Dr. Burney points out that the *d^e* of Sin., Cur., Pesh. "may mean 'because they see, &c' or 'which see, &c.'" This is perfectly true, but it is singular that Dr. Burney should be at pains to state this here when the same or a similar ambiguity is present in all the passages which he cites.

As regards the passages, John i. 4, 13, where Dr. Burney thinks that the relative (ὅ, οἷ) of the Greek is a misrendering of the *d^e* which he would take as causal (ὅτι), it should be noted that the Syriac versions clearly support the reading of the Greek, except that the uncertainty as to the point of division between vss. 3 and 4 makes the Peshitto ambiguous. Dr. Burney claims finally that this ambiguity of *d^e* is responsible for the reading "for (ὅτι) he died" (viii. 53) in Cod. D instead of the "who (ὅστις) died" of the Westcott-Hort text. But the "who" may be simply a copyist's error, due to the similarity of the words.

ἵνα as a "mistranslation" of *d^e* = "when"

Dr. Burney cites four passages (xii. 23, xiii. 1, xvi. 2, 32) in which he thinks that the *ἵνα* of the Greek is a mistranslation of *d^e* in the sense of "when." They are all passages in which the *ἵνα* follows the words, "the hour cometh (came, has come)," and in which consequently the sense of temporal sequence is strongly emphasized. Dr. Burney finds support for this in the fact that in iv. 21, 23; v. 25; xvi. 25, ὅτε

is used in place of *šva*, while in v. 28 we read *šv š* (cf. iv. 52, 53). But the fact that in this Gospel *šva* and *šte* occur in this construction with equal frequency and apparently without appreciable difference in meaning favors the view that the *šva* clause is used here as the equivalent of an infinitive clause,²⁶ and that consequently if the *šte* clauses are to be regarded as showing Aramaic influence, the *šva* clauses, instead of being taken as instances of mistranslation of an Aramaic original, should be explained as Hebraisms.

štu as a "mistranslation" of *d^e* = "when"

In ix. 8, Dr. Burney finds, as he thinks, *štu* in the sense of "when." He jumps to the conclusion that this is a mistranslation of *d^e*. But in "they which before had seen him *that* he was a beggar," the *štu* is simply the equivalent of an accusative with the infinitive, "who had formerly seen him to be a beggar."²⁷ Dr. Burney calls xii. 41 "another clear instance of the same mistranslation," because he thinks the sense "demanded" is "when (*šte*) he saw His glory." Dr. Burney fails to tell us what his objection is to the perfectly natural "because" of the RV. Clearly the only reason "when" is *demanded* is that it furnishes Dr. Burney another instance of mistranslation.

An Inconsistency in Dr. Burney's Argument

The reader will have noticed that in the instances of alleged mistranslation which we have just been considering the testimony of the *Palestinian Syriac*²⁸ is frequently cited by Dr. Burney in support of the reading which he favors. Thus in five or six instances he claims that the *d^e* of the Aramaic which represents the *šva* of the Greek is to be regarded as the relative "who, which." Yet while assuring us that the Aramaic *d^e* is "naturally," "without doubt" to be rendered as a relative, he also describes the rendering as

²⁶ Blass-Debrunner, §§ 369, 382.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, § 408.

²⁸ *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S., London, 1899.

literal. This is significant in view of what Dr. Burney elsewhere tells us about this Lectionary. We quote in full: "The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, of unknown date, exhibits an Aramaic dialect akin to that of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim. As offering us the text of a great part of the Gospels translated into Palestinian Aramaic this Lectionary is of considerable interest. Like the Targums, however, in relation to the Hebrew text, it shows a certain tendency to adapt its language to its Greek original."²⁹

There are two points to be noted in the statement just quoted. The first is that Dr. Burney clearly regards this Lectionary as a *version* and a version from the Greek. It is not the Aramaic original of which he is in quest. The second point is that it "shows a certain tendency to adapt its language to its Greek original." In other words the Aramaic of this Lectionary has a Greek flavor. Let us apply this, for example, to the passages we have been considering, which have *ʾva* in the Greek. The Lectionary renders this *ʾva* by *d^e*. If the rendering is *literal*, as Dr. Burney is at pains to assure us, this should mean that the *d^e* is to be regarded as the equivalent of *ʾva* and so rendered. Yet while insisting on the literalness of the rendering Dr. Burney insists also on rendering the *d^e* as a relative, a meaning which the *ʾva* cannot possibly have, and he refuses to render the *d^e* as a final particle, although he would never dream of denying that the Aramaic *d^e* may be and often is so used. We have here a rather glaring inconsistency. Dr. Burney assures us that the Aramaic is a literal rendering of the Greek and yet insists on attaching to it a meaning which is impossible to the Greek which it renders. It would be different if he were to say that the Aramaic is ambiguous, that the *d^e* could be rendered both by the relative and by "in order that," "that," and that in the Aramaic the former rendering would be more natural. But Dr. Burney is so concerned to prove his theory of *mistranslations*, that he does not do this,³⁰ and consequently confuses

²⁹ P. 25.

³⁰ For an exception cf. p. 544 *supra*.

the reader and involves himself, as we have said, in a glaring inconsistency.

It will be objected, perhaps, that we have overstated the case, that Dr. Burney is correct in speaking of the Aramaic rendering as *literal* and of the *d^e* as *naturally* to be taken as the relative, and that he has simply failed to stress the fact which lies at the basis of this whole discussion, that *d^e* is ambiguous. There is we admit an element of truth in this. But we insist all the same that it is *not correct* to say that *d^e* in the sense of "who" is a *literal* rendering of *šva*. Furthermore, if *d^e* is a correct rendering of *šva*, then *šva* can be a correct rendering of *d^e*—the reader will please observe that we do not say must be, since the scope of the two particles is not the same—and Dr. Burney would not be entitled to use the word "mistranslation" with regard to the *šva* unless he could prove that the *d^e*, not of the Pal. Syr. Lectionary, but of his alleged Aramaic original, could not properly be rendered by *šva*. We do not think he has proved or can prove this. But if he could, he would first of all convict himself of serious misrepresentation in speaking of the *d^e* (relative) as the *literal* rendering of *šva* (final). The same applies to most if not all of the other instances of alleged mistranslation cited above where the testimony of Pal. Syr., and not only of Pal. Syr. but of any other Aramaic *versions*, is used to prove the charge of mistranslation. In so far as they are admitted to give *literal* renderings of the Greek they cannot be said to prove mistranslation by the Greek.

The Frequency of the Pronouns

Dr. Burney finds further confirmation of his thesis in the "great frequency" of the pronouns of the first and second persons in John. While recognizing that in some cases the use of the pronoun as subject of the finite verb is for the purpose of emphasis, he believes that in a large number of instances there is no special emphasis apparent. This he regards as a Semitism. He remarks: "In Hebrew and still more in Aramaic, the Participle is used with great freedom

to describe an event as in process of continuance, whether in the past or present, or as in process of coming into being (*Futurum instans*). In such cases, the subject being unexpressed in the verbal form, it is of course necessary to mark it, when it is pronominal, by the Pronoun."³¹ The first example given of such a usage is Gen. vii, 4 where אֲנִי מַמְטִיר is rendered in LXX by ἐγὼ ὑπάγω ὑετόν. Particular attention is directed to the cases where the pronoun follows the verb, which as Dr. Burney points out may occur in either Hebrew or Aramaic. Yet he concludes that John's use of both orders "looks much like a close reproduction of an Aramaic original."³² Here again Dr. Burney is seeking to draw a specific inference from a general premise. This phenomenon may be regarded as a Hebraism,³³ or simply as a Semitism. It is not, as he himself admits, distinctive of Aramaic.

Pronominal Construction peculiar to Aramaic

Under this head Dr. Burney cites: "the tendency to anticipate a genitive by use of a possessive pronominal suffix attached to the antecedent." After giving several examples of this construction from the Aramaic of Daniel and from the Pal. Syr. of John i. (e.g. "His name of God" literally, "the name of Him who is God," Dan. ii. 20), he goes on to say:

There appears to be but one instance of this in the Greek of Jn., but this is so striking that it should surely count for much in estimating the theory of translation from Aramaic. In ix. 18 we read τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀναβλέψαντος, 'his parents of him that had received sight.' This appears naturally in Pal. Syr. as אַנְשׁוּתָה דְּהוּרְן דְּחִמָּא. Cf. Mk. vi. 22 εἰσελθούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ (v.l. αὐτῆς) τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος, which is clearly an attempt to reproduce the Aramaic construction בְּרַתָּה דְּהִרְדִּיָּא, i.e. 'the daughter of H.' (noted by Allen, *St. Mark*, ad loc.).³⁴

Since Dr. Burney believes that in John ix. 18 we have an example of the Aramaic circumlocution for the genitive

³¹ P. 80.

³² P. 82.

³³ Cf. Blass-Debrunner, § 277, where copyist's gloss is given as a possible alternative.

³⁴ P. 85f.

which is so "striking" that it should "count for much" in estimating the correctness of his theory, we shall examine this question in some detail, and begin with a brief survey of the genitive in Semitics.

In the Semitic as in the Indo-European languages the genitive was early and apparently originally distinguished by means of a case ending, the vowels *u*, *i*, and *a* being used to denote the nominative, genitive and accusative respectively. Along with this differentiation by means of the vowel ending, there was also a tendency to shorten the word which precedes and is modified by the genitive, and which is said to be in the construct state. This was done either by shortening the ending or dropping it entirely, or else by a modification of the vowels in the body of the word. An example of the former is the dropping of the mimmat in the construct state in the Assyrian: e.g. *bîtum* is "house" or "the house," but "the house of the king" is *bîtu* (or *bît*) *šarrim*. An example of the latter would be the "construct state" in Hebrew: e.g. *dāvār* (word), but *d'vār hammelekh* (the word of the king). When, as in the Hebrew, the case endings almost entirely disappear, the modification of the changeable vowels in the preceding word may become the only outward indication of the presence of the genitive. Consequently the student who is beginning the study of Hebrew is struck by what seems to him a decided *anomaly* due to the fact that it is not the *genitive* noun but the noun which *precedes* the genitive that is modified.

But while the use of the "construct" is characteristic of the Semitic languages as a group, this construction has certain very marked limitations;³⁵ and there are other ways of expressing the genitive. One of these is by means of the preposition ל (to), "a house to the king" being equivalent to

³⁵ Most important is the rule that the construct, although it cannot be itself definite, is regarded as having the same definiteness or indefiniteness as the following genitive. Thus, we may say: "the house of the king" or "a house of a king," but not "the house of a king" or "a house of the king."

"a house of the king." The other is the use of a demonstrative or relative pronoun, such as the *d^e* or *dî* in Aramaic and the *sha* in Babylonian. Thus in Aramaic we find such expressions as *mawhabto da'loho*, "the gift of God" (literally, "the gift, that of God"). And when both words are definite a pronoun is frequently added to the first: e.g. *mawhabteh da'loho* which is literally "his gift (the gift of him) who is God." This construction with the original demonstrative is widely used in the Aramaic dialects as a periphrasis for the genitive; and the use of the pronominal suffix which then really becomes the antecedent of the *d^e* (used as a relative) is also quite common. In fact this latter form of expression "his gift *who* is God" (*mawhabteh da'loho*) may be regarded as a characteristic of Aramaic and Assyrian³⁶ as distinguished from Hebrew and Arabic.

Now it is this latter construction which Dr. Burney believes he has discovered in John ix. 18 and to which he appeals as a striking support of the theory of an Aramaic original. He would in short treat the *αὐτοῦ* of *τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ* as the demonstrative pronoun used as the possessive, "his parents" (literally the parents of *him*), which is inserted just as in *mawhabteh da'loho* between the noun and its genitive, while the *τοῦ ἀναβλέψαντος* would represent the demonstrative or relative clause which we would have in the Aramaic: "the parents of him the one who saw" being equivalent to "the gift of him who is God." Is this interpretation correct? We believe that this is not, and for the following reasons:

1. It should hardly be necessary to remind the reader that we are dealing here with one of the commonest syntactical forms of the Fourth Gospel, indeed of the New Testament as a whole, the genitive relation. The genitive case occurs a very large number of times in John. Thus, there are nearly

³⁶ Such expressions as *apil-šu ša šarri*, "the son of the king" (lit. "the son of him who is king") are strictly parallel to the Aramaic construction, which is consequently "peculiarly idiomatic" of the Aramaic only as compared with the other *West Semitic* languages.

forty cases where the word "God" appears as a genitive. That in the Aramaic these genitives would frequently be represented by the periphrastic expression described above would seem to be probable, in view of the frequency of this idiom in the Aramaic dialects; and when we turn to the Syriac versions, we find that this is actually the case. E.g., this construction occurs 14 times in the Pesh. of John i, and 16 times in the Pal. Syr. of the same chapter.

Since, then, in Aramaic documents the periphrasis for the genitive occurs so frequently we would expect that if the Greek text of the Fourth Gospel were a translation from the Aramaic prepared by a man who was not sufficiently master of Greek to render this construction idiomatically, instances of this pleonastic use of the *αὐτός*, as we may call it, would be quite numerous, or at least sufficiently numerous to be a characteristic of the literary form of this Gospel. But such is not the case. This is the only instance which Dr. Burney is able to find in the Fourth Gospel.³⁷ This means that despite its frequency in Aramaic we have according to Dr. Burney only a single example of this alleged Aramaism in the Fourth Gospel. We are consequently able to draw one inference at the outset: viz. that the alleged translator was perfectly able to render this alleged Aramaic construction into correct Greek and that he did this according to Dr. Burney in every case but one. We must conclude then either that he blundered in this *one* instance, which hardly seems probable, or else that in this particular instance he had a special reason for using a phrase which seems to Dr. Burney to follow the Aramaic style.

That the supposed translator was competent to render this idiom into correct Greek, appears not merely from the fact that as has been said Dr. Burney finds no other example of this construction in the Gospel, but still more clearly from the fact that in a number of passages which are closely parallel to this one in form the offensive *αὐτοῦ* does not

³⁷ His only other example is Mk. vi. 22 (see below).

appear. Thus we read in iv. 34 "my meat and my drink is to do the will of Him that sent me" (τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με, cf. v. 30, vi. 38, 39, vii. 18, ix. 4). This expression is strictly parallel to the one we are examining, since in each the genitive is represented by the aorist participle. If the alleged translator left out the *αὐτοῦ* in the one case, why did he insert it in the other? Are we justified in regarding it as a blunder or should we not rather seek for some adequate explanation of the different usage?

2. It is to be noted that while *αὐτός* is frequently used in the New Testament to express the personal pronoun of the third person, so that *αὐτοῦ* very often means "his," it is also used as a demonstrative, in which case it may have intensive force. The nominative, *αὐτὸς ὁ*, occurs twice in John³⁸ and about fifteen times elsewhere in the New Testament usually in Paul.³⁹ The dative does not occur in John, but we meet it a dozen times in Luke, twice in Acts and once in 1 Cor.⁴⁰ The accusative is found once in John and three times in Hebrews.⁴¹ In most of these instances it is quite evident that the demonstrative cannot be regarded as the personal pronoun, and thus represent the Aramaic pronoun but is to be regarded as intensive or emphatic: *αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς* (Math. iii. 4) "Jesus Himself"; *αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ* (Lk. ii. 38) "in that very hour"; *οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα* (Heb. x. 1) "not the very image (of the things)." Furthermore the use of such expressions in the writings of Paul militates against the view that it is an Aramaic form of expression.

Turning now to the genitive *αὐτοῦ τοῦ* we have the following examples to compare: 3 John 12, "(Demetrius hath good report of all men) and of the truth itself" (*καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τῆς*

³⁸ v. 36, xvi. 27; cf. ii. 24, iv. 44 where the article is omitted.

³⁹ Mt. iii. 4, Mk. vi. 17, Lk. xxiv. 15-Rom. viii. 16, 21, 26, 1 Cor. xi. 14(?), xv. 28, 2 Cor. xi. 14, 1 Thess. iii. 11, iv. 16, v. 23, 2 Thess. ii. 16, iii. 16, Rev. xxi. 3.

⁴⁰ [Mk. xvi. 14], Lk. i. 36, ii. 38, iii. 23(?), vii. 21, x. 7, 21, xii. 12, xiii. 1, xiii. 31, xx. 19, xxiii. 12, xxiv. 13, 33, Acts xvi. 18, xxi. 13, 1 Cor. i. 24.

⁴¹ John xxi. 25, Heb. ix. 19, 23, 24.

ἀληθείας). Here the αὐτῆς cannot be the possessive pronoun, but is clearly the demonstrative used for emphasis. In 2 Cor. viii. 19 the reading is unfortunately open to question. If we read with Tischendorf πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν ("to the glory of the Lord Himself") we have another good example of the emphatic use of the demonstrative. But the αὐτοῦ is omitted by WH. If in Mk. vi. 22 to which Dr. Burney refers as "clearly an attempt to reproduce the Aramaic construction" we read αὐτῆς the natural rendering of τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος would be "the daughter of Herodias herself." There is no need to assume that we have here a clumsy attempt to render the Aramaic phrase ברתה דהרודים, which Dr. Burney renders by "*her* daughter of Herodias."⁴²

While these examples are not numerous they are sufficient to prove that αὐτός ὁ is used in the New Testament in the genitive as well as in the nominative, dative and accusative. There is no reason why this should not be the case. It is interesting to observe that the genitive of ἐκεῖνος ὁ while less frequent than the other cases is also found in the New Testament (Matt. xxii. 46, Jn. xi. 53, xix. 27, 31). Consequently the expression may be appropriately rendered: "the parents of that (very) one who saw."

3. It is to be noted further that it would be quite possible to explain the τοῦ ἀναβλέψαντος as simply an explanatory or emphatic apposition or parenthesis, epexegetical of the αὐτοῦ which would then stand for the personal pronoun: "the parents of him (the man who saw)." Such parentheses are by no means rare in the New Testament. Thus we may find it following a nominative, as, "but when that one (ἐκεῖνος)—the Spirit of truth—shall come" (John xvi. 13); a genitive, as "the greeting with the hand of me, Paul"

⁴² Dr. Burney apparently feels that his theory would account for the various reading αὐτοῦ which is the better attested of the two, since the unpointed Aramaic could be read either as masculine or feminine. But this does not help us very much. For certainly a translator who was acquainted with Aramaic would have read the alleged Aramaic as feminine. It is better to regard the reading αὐτοῦ as a transcriptional error, due to the fact that αὐτοῦ occurs twice in the preceding verse.

(literally, "with my hand, Paul," [ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου] which stands for τῇ χειρὶ ἐμοῦ Παύλου 1 Cor. xvi. 21, Col. iv. 18, 2 Thess. iii. 17); or an accusative "unto us, the believing (ones)" (εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας, Eph. i. 19).

4. It is to be noted further that in estimating Dr. Burney's interpretation of this passage we are concerned not merely with the pronoun "his" (αὐτοῦ), but also with the words which follow; and the question arises whether the simple τοῦ ἀναβλέψαντος is really equivalent to the Pal. Syr.⁴³ which Dr. Burney quotes, and which is literally "the parents of him who is this one that saw." It is of course true that in Greek the participle with article is often used as the equivalent of a relative clause. But it is certainly questionable whether a translator who *ex hypothesi* failed to render so common an Aramaic expression as this into correct Greek would have contented himself with the simple τοῦ ἀναβλέψαντος as a rendering of the more complicated Aramaic idiom.

We submit that there is in this passage nothing to prove beyond *reasonable doubt* that we have here an Aramaic phrase embedded in the Greek. We see no reason to deny that the expression itself is good Greek and we have offered several explanations of it, either one of which seems to be reasonable. But even if we were to admit that the phrase is Aramaic, this would not prove that we are dealing with a translation from the Aramaic. It would merely prove at most that the author knew Aramaic well, perhaps better than he knew Greek and in a single instance had allowed this to color his use of the Greek language.

The Historic Present

According to Dr. Burney the historic present is "extremely frequent in John." He lists 164 occurrences of which 120, or nearly three-fourths, are cases of the verb "say" (λέγει, λέγουσιν). This feature, he points out, "strongly resembles a common Aramaic idiom in which in a description of past events the participle is employed to

⁴³ Pesh. has practically same construction.

represent the action described as in process of taking place.⁴⁴ In the Aramaic of Daniel he finds "no less than 99 instances" of this usage of which "23 are found with the verb 'answer' and no less than 36 with the verb 'say.'" He considers it obvious to the Aramaic scholar that this usage "naturally lends itself to representation in Greek by the Historic Present or Imperfect." And his conclusion is that the theory of Aramaic influence offers an adequate explanation of this phenomenon of the Fourth Gospel.⁴⁵

Pausing only to note that Aramaic influence need not mean or imply an Aramaic original for the Fourth Gospel, attention may be called to the following considerations.

It is to be noted at the outset that the historic present is not uncommon in Classical and New Testament Greek.⁴⁶ It may be regarded as a colloquialism; but it is admittedly so natural an idiom that strong reason must be adduced in support of the theory that its occurrence in John is indicative of foreign, i.e. Aramaic, influence. Two things impress Dr. Burney particularly: the fact that in Daniel the participle, in John the present indicative, is frequently used in the "historic" sense; and that in both documents the majority of the occurrences are of the verb "say" or "answer."

Looking first at the Aramaic side of the argument, we observe first of all that it may be questioned whether the occurrences of the participle in the Aramaic of Daniel, are either so remarkable or so numerous as Dr. Burney's figures would seem to indicate. The statement that "in the 199½ Aramaic verses of Daniel we find no less than 99 instances of this participial usage" loses something of its impressiveness, when we take it in connection with the fact, not mentioned by Dr. Burney, that in these same verses the perfect

⁴⁴ Pp. 87ff.

⁴⁵ He points out that this explanation has already been given by Allen and by Wellhausen to account for the similar phenomena in Mark.

⁴⁶ Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, 3^{te} Aufl. (1898), II. I. 132; Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, pp. 866ff.; Blass-Debrunner, *Gram. d. N.T. Griechischen*, § 321.

occurs about three hundred times, i.e., about three times as often as the participle.

Again, it is to be noted that in most of the 99 or more instances cited by Dr. Burney, the warrant for treating the verb as participle rather than as perfect is simply the vowel pointings. Thus **ענה ואמר** can be pronounced *'ânê wê'âmar* "(is) answering and saying" (ptcs.) or *'anâ wa'amar* "he answered and said" (pfs.) or *'anâ wê'âmar* "he answered and says" (pf. + ptc.). In favor of the first we have the Massoretic pointing which Dr. Burney apparently accepts without question in making up his total, although he later points out that there is an element of uncertainty as to its correctness. An argument for the second (both perfects) lies in the fact that this construction is actually found in Daniel. Thus, in iii. 24, we read, "Then Nebuchadnezzar, the king, was astonished (pf.) and rose up (pf.) in haste, (and) answers (ptc.) and says (ptc.)," etc. It is hard to see why the last two verbs must both be pointed as participle, if the first two are pointed as perfect. For in v. 10, "the queen answered (pf.) and said (pf.)," the very phrase is used which is so often found on the lips of the king, but here the fact that the speaker is a woman makes the words (**ענת ואמרה**) unambiguous. In favor of the third (perfect + participle) it is to be noted that the plural of the phrase **ענה ואמר** is usually not "(they) are answering and saying" but "they answered (**ענו**, pf.; not **ענין**, ptc.)"⁴⁷ and are saying (**אמרינן**, ptc.)," a fact which has led Dr. Burney himself to raise the question whether when the verb "answer" is used in the singular it should likewise be pointed as perfect.⁴⁸

But even if the correctness of the pointing be admitted, it does not follow that the use of the participle as historic present is as characteristically Aramaic as Dr. Burney ap-

⁴⁷ The perfect occurs five times (ii. 7, 10, iii. 9, 16, vi. 14), the participle only once (iii. 24).

⁴⁸ Cf. Dan. vi. 13, 16 where "saying" follows the perfect of a verb other than "answer."

parently believes. He tells us himself that "In Syriac the use of the participle under discussion is practically confined to the verb אָמַר 'say.'"⁴⁹ And in speaking of Daniel he points out, as we have seen, that of the 99 examples "no less than 36" are of the verb "say," while "23" represent its cognate "answer," which means that about 60 per cent of all occurrences are "answer" or "say." This suggests that in Biblical Aramaic as in Syriac this use of the participle is especially marked in verbs of speaking. Yet it is a fact which should not be overlooked that there are 20 occurrences of the perfect of "say" in these same chapters of Daniel.

Having considered the frequency of the participle in the Aramaic of Daniel, we now turn to the question whether this participle, assuming the pointing as participle to be correct, would be rendered into Greek by the historic present. We are fortunately in a position to test this by the Greek versions of the Aramaic of Daniel. If it were a fact, as Dr Burney claims, that the historic present in John renders the participle of an alleged Aramaic original, we should expect to find this to hold true of such known versions of the Aramaic of Daniel into Greek as those of Theodotion and the LXX. But that such is not the case the phrase "answer and say" seems clearly to indicate. This phrase is the outstanding example of the participle in Daniel, and occurs 30 times.⁵⁰ How is it rendered by Theodotion? The singular is rendered 5 times by κ. ἀπεκρίθη κ. εἶπεν (ii. 8, iii. 14, 28, iv. 16, 27), 10 times by (καὶ) εἶπεν (ii. 20, iii. 19, 24, 26, v. 7, 10,⁵¹ 13, 17, vi. 13, 17), once by ἀπεκρίθη (ii. 5), twice by ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν (ii. 26, 47),

⁴⁹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 274: "Narration scarcely ever employs the Active Participle (as historical present) except in the case of אָמַר; but this . . . is very common."

⁵⁰ These words are found in masc. sing. and pointed as participles 23 times (ii. 5, 8, 15, 20, 26, 27, 47, iii. 14, 19, 24, 25, 26, 28, iv. 16 *bis*, 27, v. 7, 13, 17, vi. 13, 17, 21, vii. 2); they are masc. plur. 6 times, in only one of which both verbs are participles (iii. 24) while in 5 (ii. 7, 10, iii. 9, 16, vi. 14) we find the perfect followed by the participle; in the one case where the verbs are in the fem. sing. (v. 10) both are in the perfect tense.

⁵¹ Here as we have seen both verbs are perfects in the Aramaic.

5 times it is omitted (ii. 15, iii. 25, iv. 16, vi. 21, vii. 2). Only once (ii. 27) is the present tense used in the Greek and even there it follows an aorist (κ. ἀπεκρίθη κ. λέγει). In the 6 cases where the plural is used, it is rendered as follows: ἀπεκρίθησαν κ. εἶπαν (ii. 7), ἀπεκρίθησαν κ. λέγουσιν (ii. 10, vi. 14), ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες (iii. 16); in iii. 9 the phrase is wanting in the Greek; in iii. 24 where both verbs are participles in Aramaic, the Greek simply has εἶπαν. Of these thirty occurrences of the phrase "answer and say" in Aramaic, Dr. Burney cites only 4 instances (ii. 10, 27, vi. 13, 14) of the rendering of the participle by the historic present and he fails to take account of the fact that in all of them the present is preceded in the Greek by an aorist.⁵² The case is even stronger where other verbs than "say" are rendered into Greek by Theodotion. For Dr. Burney apparently can cite only one case (iii. 27) where the Aramaic participle is rendered by the present indicative. Dr. Burney has made no express allusion to the LXX; but as far as the expression "answer and say" is concerned, the use of the aorist indicative is fully as frequent as in Theodotion. This testimony of the Greek versions would seem to mean either that the translators did not point the Aramaic forms as participle as often as is done by the Masoretes, which would be an argument against the frequent use of the participle as historic present in Daniel, or else that, while recognizing the forms as participles, they nevertheless preferred as a rule to render them into Greek by the aorist indicative and not by the historic present.

We turn now to the testimony of the Fourth Gospel itself. We have seen that Dr. Burney stresses two points: the frequency of the historic present (164 times) and the fact that so many of these instances are of the verb "say" (120 times). This he considers especially significant because in the Aramaic of Daniel the participle occurs frequently, and especially often in the case of the words "answer" and "say."

⁵² Dr. Burney cites one other example of the present (vi. 16). There the Greek omits a perfect ("assembled" or "rushed") which precedes.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Burney does not tell us how the 164 instances of the historic present compare in general with the use of the aorist indicative nor even what the proportion is in the case of "answer" and "say." It is noteworthy that there are at least as many examples of "said" (aor. ind.) as of "say" (hist. pres.).⁵³ In the case of the expressions "answer" and "answer and say" the figures are very striking. In his list of the historic presents, Dr. Burney gives but *three* occurrences of "answer" (ἀποκρίνεται xii. 23, xiii. 26, 38). Yet everyone knows that this verb occurs frequently in John. What are the facts? They are these: "answered" (aor. ind.) occurs 36 times;⁵⁴ "answered and said" (both aor. ind.) occurs 32 times; "answered saying" (aor. ind. + pres. ptc.) occurs 2 times; "answered and says" (aor. ind. + pres. ind.) occurs once; "answered and was saying" (aor. ind.⁵⁵ + imperf.) occurs once; "answers" (pres. ind.) occurs only three times.⁵⁶ In other words out of 75 occurrences of "answer," in 36 of which it is followed by "say," the former is in the present tense only *three* times out of 75, the latter is present (or imperfect) only *four* times out of 36. It would be difficult, we think, to find more conclusive proof that the historic present in the Fourth Gospel has little or no connection with the participle of Daniel; for in the very phrase which is common to both and which might be expected to exhibit the correspondence with the greatest clearness, if such correspondence really exists, the difference is very marked.

The facts which have just been cited are especially noteworthy because they illustrate so clearly the dangerous one-sidedness of the method which Dr. Burney not seldom em-

⁵³ We have counted about 130 instances of the aorist indicative where we believe the historic present would be equally suitable.

⁵⁴ The aorist passive (ἀπεκρίθη κ.τ.λ.) is regularly used; but in v. 17 the WH text has aorist middle (ἀπεκρίνατο) which is also given by some MSS. in xviii. 34.

⁵⁵ v. 19; here the aorist middle (ἀπεκρίνατο) is used.

⁵⁶ In two of them (xii. 23 and xiii. 38) some MSS. give the aorist (mid. or pass.).

plays in his quest for confirmation of his theory: he cites only the data which support, but makes no mention of the evidence which refutes, the theory he is trying to establish. It is often said that statistics are very misleading, that you can prove or disprove anything by the skilful use of statistics. This is, unfortunately, all too true. But it is true only when the statistics are incomplete or are selected and arranged with a view to proving the opinions held by the statistician. Three instances of "answer" (hist. pres.) constitute an argument in favor of Dr. Burney's theory; but the force of this argument is more than offset by the seventy-two instances of "answered" (aor. ind.) which he does not even mention. Dr. Burney is entitled to call attention to the three instances; he is not justified in ignoring the seventy-two. We do not profess to have made anything approaching an exhaustive investigation of either the Aramaic participle or the Greek historic present. But we believe that enough has been said to prove that the theory of Aramaic influence (we have already noted that Dr. Burney does not say Aramaic original) rests here on very shaky foundations.⁵⁷

Negatives

In this chapter Dr. Burney begins by pointing out that "The Semitic languages do not for the most part possess

⁵⁷ A further indication that the Aramaic participle and the Greek historic present cannot be regarded as so closely related that one can be justly treated as derived from the other is furnished by the Aramaic versions of the Greek New Testament. It is a significant fact that of the 120 instances cited by Dr. Burney of λέγει, λέγουσιν in the Greek of John almost 40 per cent are rendered in the Peshitto (accepting the pointings as correct) by the perfect. Dr. Robertson (*Grammar*, p. 868) cites John xx. 1-18 as a typical instance of the occurrence of the historic present. It is interesting to note that of the 23 occurrences of this idiom in these verses, 10 appear in the Peshitto as perfects. Besides this the participles παρακύψας (vs. 4) εἰποῦσα (vs. 14), δοκοῦσα (vs. 15), ἀγγέλλουσα (vs. 18), are rendered by the perfect; and in vs. 16 where we read στραφεῖσα . . . λέγει (ptc. + pres.) the Peshitto has a perfect followed by a participle. In the case of the Palestinian Syriac the absence of vowel points makes it at times uncertain whether the Greek present is there rendered by participle or by perfect. It is safe to say that in this passage this version has nearly if not quite as many perfects as does the Peshitto.

negative expressions such as *none*, *never*, but expressed them by using the corresponding positives coupled with the simple negative *not*.”⁵⁸ After citing a number of instances of this usage in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament, he proceeds to call attention to two passages in John (vi. 39, xii. 46)⁵⁹ where a similar construction occurs, the first of which reads thus: “That (of) *all* which He has given me I should *not* lose (anything)” (ὅσα πάντα ὁ δέδωκεν μοι μὴ ἀπολέσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ). To these Dr. Burney adds a number of examples from other New Testament books, several of which are from Paul. This presentation of the case is misleading because Dr. Burney presents only one side of the case. For if this idiom is Semitic, as Dr. Burney claims, it is to be noted that in John and elsewhere in the New Testament another idiom occurs that is even more distinctively Greek. We refer to the “double negative.” Not merely does *οὐδεὶς* occur almost as frequently in John as *πᾶς*; but in sixteen of its sixty-four occurrences it is accompanied by a negative particle. Whereas of the sixty-six occurrences of *πᾶς* there are as we have seen only four (Dr. Burney has cited but two) which clearly illustrate the usage which Dr. Burney regards as Semitic.⁶⁰ The evidence clearly shows a preference for the Greek mode of expression.

μήποτε.

Dr. Burney makes much of John's failure to use *μήποτε* in the sense of “lest”; and he is particularly impressed by the fact that in citing from Isa. vi. 10 “lest (יֵפְ) he see with his eyes,” John does not use the LXX (*μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς*) as does Mt., but “departs from the Hebrew and LXX phrases in order to use an Aramaic phrase which is actually employed in the rendering of Pesh.”⁶¹ And he concludes, “What evidence could prove more cogently that his

⁵⁸ P. 98.

⁵⁹ He seems to have overlooked two other passages (iii. 16, xi. 26) where this construction also occurs.

⁶⁰ Such passages as iii. 20, xiii. 10, 11, 18 and xv. 2 are hardly in point.

⁶¹ P. 100.

Greek translates an Aramaic original?" But on what ground does Dr. Burney accuse John of "departing" from the Hebrew? His rendering *ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς* differs from the LXX, it is true; but unless Dr. Burney is prepared to maintain that *יֵד* cannot be correctly rendered by *ἵνα μὴ*, where is the departure from the Hebrew? Elsewhere he tells us that the author of the Fourth Gospel knows his Old Testament, not through the medium of the LXX, but in the original language.⁶² Grant that *ἵνα μὴ* is the exact equivalent of the *לְמַעַן* of the Peshitto. Grant that *μήποτε* is not used by John, while *ἵνα μὴ* occurs eighteen times. If this proves an Aramaic original for the Fourth Gospel, how shall we account for the fact that *μήποτε* is likewise absent from the Pauline Epistles while *ἵνα μὴ* is found twice as often in them as in John? Were the Pauline Epistles originally written in Aramaic also? How hard pressed Dr. Burney is for proof of his theory is shown by his statement that while Mt. quotes the LXX verbatim "Mk. iv. 12 quoting more freely yet has the *μήποτε* of LXX." It is true that Mk. iv. 12 and the LXX both have *μήποτε* as the rendering of the "lest" (*יֵד*) of Isa. vi. 10, while John has *ἵνα μὴ*. But on the other hand there are indications that in both Mk. and John the citation is based on the Hebrew. Does this word *μήποτε* prove that Mk. follows the LXX and that John has an Aramaic original? It is to be noted that while *μήποτε* is used in the LXX at Isa. vi. 10, this cannot be said to be a characteristic of that version as such. In the Pentateuch, for example, "lest" (*יֵד*) is rendered by *ἵνα μὴ* eleven times or about half as often as by *μήποτε*. If *ἵνα μὴ* is "an Aramaic phrase" in John which proves it to be a translation from the Aramaic, how are we to explain the occurrence of this phrase eleven times in the LXX in the Pentateuch? Obviously Dr. Burney proves too much and so proves nothing. The simple fact is that both *μήποτε* and *ἵνα μὴ* are good Greek and correct renderings of the Hebrew "lest." Why the writer of the Fourth Gospel preferred the phrase *ἵνα μὴ* we do not pro-

⁶² P. 127.

fess to know. But it is at least clear that its use lends no support to Dr. Burney's theory.

Mistranslations

The five chapters from which we have cited examples all deal with Grammar—the Sentence, Conjunctions, Pronouns, the Verb, Negatives. In them Dr. Burney cites as we have seen examples of various constructions which he thinks prove the Greek text of the Fourth Gospel to be a translation of an Aramaic original. These examples fall into two classes: those in which the Greek may be regarded as a correct though unidiomatic rendering of the Aramaic, and those in which it is held to be incorrect, a “mistranslation” of the alleged original. These latter are found chiefly in the chapter on “Conjunctions” and constitute those cases where Dr. Burney thinks the *d^e* of the original Aramaic has been incorrectly rendered by *ἵνα*, *ὅτι*, *ὅτε*. These examples we have already examined. The seventh chapter is entitled “Mistranslations of the Original Aramaic of the Gospel.” It is an important chapter. For as Dr. Burney correctly tells us: “The most weighty form of evidence in proof that a document is a translation from another language is the existence of difficulties or peculiarities of language which can be shown to find their solution in the theory of mistranslation from the assumed original language.”⁶³

After reminding his readers of the “mistranslations of *d^e*,” which we have examined, Dr. Burney goes on to cite other examples which he believes he has discovered.

i. 5, xii. 35, “καταλαμβάνειν = קָבַל ‘take, receive,’ a misunderstanding of אֲקַבֵּל ‘darken.’ ” It is to be noted that here we are dealing not with grammatical form but with the subject matter of the narrative. i. 5, “and the light shineth in the darkness; and the darkness did not receive (οὐ κατέλαβεν) it” makes perfectly good sense. It stresses the hostility between darkness and light as symbols of ethical values. The darkness did not welcome the light, as it might

⁶³ P. 101.

have been expected to do; it resisted it. In John iii. 19-21 we have a very clear interpretation of the meaning of this passage, if such is really needed. It would also be true to fact to say: "and the darkness did not obscure it," if the statement is taken in a relative sense and with express reference to the final outcome of this irrepressible conflict. But there are a great many correct statements which might appear in the Fourth Gospel that do not appear there. We are not concerned with what the writer might have said but with what he did say. The same is true of xii. 35. "That the darkness shroud you not" would make good sense. But what proof is there that it is better than "that darkness overtake (seize) you not"? Dr. Burney has assured us that he recognizes that the advocate of translation from the Aramaic must prove beyond "reasonable doubt" the correctness of this theory. Here he furnishes the reader with no proof that any Aramaic version or any other version for that matter, or any MS of the Greek supports the reading "obscure." It is pure conjecture. Yet Dr. Burney does not hesitate to bring it forward as a possible "mistranslation" of the Greek. Either Dr. Burney does not realize how serious a charge is involved in the word "mistranslation" or else he has scant respect for the Fourth Gospel, and has forgotten the test, beyond "reasonable doubt," which he has himself proposed.⁶⁴

i. 9, "He was (ܗܽܘ) in the world" also arouses Dr. Burney's suspicion; and since the substantive verb "he was" (ܗܽܘܐ) and the pronoun "he" (ܗܽܘ) would both be written ܗܽܘ in Aramaic, he proposes that the former be regarded as a "misreading" of the latter which he thinks should have been rendered by *ἐκεῖνος*. Now the question is not as to whether *ἐκεῖνος* ܗܽܘ ܟܬܠ, would have made good sense (we have *οὗτος*

⁶⁴ Dr. Burney does not even tell us what Greek word he would use for "obscure." *Σκοτίζω*, for example, does not resemble *καταλαμβάνω*. Dr. Burney is not primarily interested in objective textual criticism. His theoretical Aramaic original makes such questions of secondary interest.

ἦν in vs. 2, cf. ix. 33; and ἐκεῖνος ἦν in v. 35, cf. i. 8), but whether ἦν τὸ φῶς is incorrect. If it is, then "he was naked" (ἦν γύμνος, xxi. 7) and "and it was written" (καὶ ἦν γεγραμμένον, xix. 20) must also be incorrect (cf. Acts vii. 22, xi. 24). We have seen that elsewhere Dr. Burney insists that the "excessive" use of the independent pronoun as subject is Aramaic. Here conversely he argues that its absence is suspicious. Dr. Burney is clearly a somewhat captious critic of the Greek text which he is investigating.

Dr. Burney believes that instances of *incongruence* in the use of the relative pronoun in the Fourth Gospel are a proof that it is a translation from the Aramaic. Thus in the difficult passage ὁ πατήρ μου ὃ δέδωκέν μοι πάντων μείζον ἐστιν (x. 29) he would explain the ὃ as standing incorrectly for ὅς. He would account for the incongruous use of the relative here and in several other passages as due to "the ambiguity of the particle *d^e*," which he thinks "caused difficulty to the translator." We shall not attempt to discuss the intricate problem of the use of the relative in New Testament Greek, but merely call attention to an obvious fact. It is true that the Aramaic *d^e* is indeclinable and therefore often ambiguous. But Dr. Burney fails to mention that this ambiguity of the relative is not peculiar to Aramaic but is characteristic of the Semitic languages in general, of Hebrew, Arabic and Babylonian as well as of Aramaic. Consequently the most that Dr. Burney would be entitled to argue would be for Semitic influence, not an Aramaic original. Once again he draws a very specific conclusion from a very general premise.

The extent to which the charge of "mistranslation" from a hypothetical non-Greek original can be carried is well illustrated by the treatment of i. 29, "Behold the lamb (ἄμνός) of God that taketh away the sin of the world." Dr. Burney feels that the Baptist's words show familiarity with Isaiah liii. and that therefore the genuineness of the words, "that taketh away the sin of the world," cannot justly be questioned. But he is impressed with the fact that in Isa. liii. 7 the Servant is not called the lamb of God, but it is simply

stated that he was "like a lamb that is led to the slaughter." He feels that the designation can be accounted for with the help of Gen. xxii. 8, Isa. liii. 7, 10, 11. But he prefers another explanation. Since in Aramaic the word *ṭalyā* may be used in the sense of "young man," "servant" (cf. *talitha, cumi*, "maid, arise") as well as "lamb," he would have us substitute "behold the Servant of God" for the familiar "behold the Lamb of God." Such a use of the word "lamb" would not be impossible (cf. Ps. lxxiv. 1, Jer. xxiii. 1, 1. 6, etc.). But if "lamb" only means "servant" it is hard to see why the usual word for servant (עֶבֶד) should not be used (Isa. liii. is one of the Servant Passages) or, since this servant is clearly a preeminent one, the word "shepherd" which is applied to kings and prophets (Isa. xlv. 28, lvi. 11, lxiii. 11, Jer. xlix. 19, Ezek. xxxiv. 2). "Lamb" certainly accords best with the words "that taketh away the sin of the world" which follow, and seem to explain it. And unless Dr. Burney is prepared, which he is not, to reject these words as spurious and stigmatize the sacrificial explanation as inherently false, we do not see how he can defend his charge of mistranslation. Even if it were proved that the *ἄμνος* of the Greek represented *ṭalya* in Aramaic we would still be entitled to call it a "correct" translation and interpret it in sacrificial terms. But it should be noted that neither in the Aramaic versions of Isaiah (cf. Targ. of Jonathan, and Pesh.) nor in those of John (cf. Sin., Pal. Syr., Pesh.) does the word *ṭalyā* occur. Dr. Burney's "mistranslation" seems therefore to be purely conjectural and to rest on nothing more substantial than the well-known ambiguity of the word *ṭalyā*.

ii. 22 "When therefore he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that he was saying (ἐλεγεν) this unto them." Dr. Burney thinks that the pluperfect would be more natural ("he had said"). He intimates that the translator mistook the Aramaic perfect (followed by the substantive verb) for the participle, which would simply involve a difference in the pointing. But it is to be remembered that the Greek imperfect may be used in past time both as frequenta-

tive and conative. That Jesus *tried* and tried *more than once* to prepare His disciples for His death is a fact clearly taught in Scripture. This may account for the use of the imperfect. If, as Dr. Burney suggests, the pluperfect would be so much more natural, is it not strange that his alleged translator made such an obvious blunder?

vi. 22 "The words (*ῥήματα*) which I have spoken unto you." For "words," Dr. Burney prefers to render "things." Since דבר in Hebrew and מלה in Aramaic both have this double meaning, he includes this passage among his "mis-translations." Yet, surely to use "words" in the sense of "the content of the words" is a very natural metonymy which does not warrant so serious a charge. Dr. Burney seems to forget that the usage which he regards as Aramaic is found in the LXX, and can therefore properly be regarded as a Hebraism. Thus, in Genesis, alone, there are 23 instances where דבר is rendered in the AV by "things." In all but three of these the LXX has ῥήμα. Is Dr. Burney prepared to assert that an Aramaic original must be posited for the LXX version of Genesis?

One of the most interesting passages adduced by Dr. Burney in proof of his theory is vii. 37f.: "In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." He connects the words, "he that believeth on me," with what precedes and not with what follows, and renders this part of the passage thus:

"He that thirsteth, let him come unto Me;
And let him drink that believeth on Me."

This is, of course, possible, but it is well to remember that so distinguished a commentator as Godet has spoken of it as a "desperate expedient." Then, since the words "belly" (Heb. מעים) and "fountain" (Heb. מעין) would both be written מעין in Aramaic he would change what follows to read, "As the Scripture hath said, Rivers shall flow forth from the foun-

tain of living waters' " (נהלין מן מעין דמין נבעין יהון נגדין). But it is to be noted that this conjectural reading does not succeed in what should be its primary purpose: it does not make it possible to discover an Old Testament passage with which these words can be directly connected. All that Dr. Burney can say for his reading "fountain" is this: "The reference to Scripture which follows the parallel couplet summarizes the main conceptions of Ezekiel, Joel, and Zechariah." Furthermore it is not at all clear that Dr. Burney's conjectural reading is any real improvement. Godet's view that the reference is to the incident of the smiting of the rock at Horeb is certainly worthy of consideration. Godet connects the words "out of his belly" with the "from within it (*mimmenou*)" of Exod. xvii. 6; and the phrase "rivers of living water" with the "and abundant waters came forth" of Num. xx. 11. The rock consequently typifies Christ directly (cf. 1 Cor. x. 4) and indirectly the Christian who becomes like his Master a source of blessing to humanity. Much can be said in favor of this interpretation. Or it may be that we should see in this passage a reference to the Blessing of Abraham (Gen. xii. 2, 3). According to Gen. xv. 4, this blessing was to come out of the "bowels" (מעין) of Abraham. Abraham was the great "believer" and the blessing which came from his "loins" in the person of the promised Seed, might, under a change of figure, be referred to as "living water," adopting the figure of Ezekiel, Joel and Zechariah. Certainly Dr. Burney cannot be said to have established the correctness of his hypothetical original beyond "reasonable doubt."

viii. 56 "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it and was glad." According to Dr. Burney, "No extension of the use of *ἵνα* seems adequate to explain ἡγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ, and moreover, if we grant that 'rejoiced to see' is the sense intended, the following clause καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη, instead of forming a climax, makes mere tautology." Dr. Burney thinks that the sense requires "longed," and since in Syriac the verb סוּח has both of these meanings, he

believes that the original Aramaic was given "a wrong meaning" by the translator, who should have rendered it "longed" instead of "rejoiced." Several points may be noted: (1) Dr. Burney admits that the Aramaic verb which has the double meaning he needs "is not known to occur in Western Aramaic." It would be simpler to turn to the Hebrew where the well-known root חפץ has this double meaning. (2) In Hebrew the verb שׁוּחַח may be construed with the infinitive (cf. 1 Sam. vi. 13). This construction as we have seen is frequently rendered in Greek by the *iva* clause. (3) Dr. Burney thinks the second part of the verse becomes tautological if the meaning "rejoiced" is retained. He seems to overlook the fact that repetition frequently serves both in the Old Testament and the New Testament to produce emphasis. A good illustration of such repetition—in this instance *identical* repetition—is John iii. 15, 16, where the second part of vs. 16 is an exact repetition of vs. 15.

As another example of "mistranslation" Dr. Burney adduces ix. 25 $\epsilon\nu\ \sigma\iota\delta\alpha$ "one thing I know," alleging that the translator may have confused הֵדָא (this) with הֶדָא (one), which he describes as "merely the difference between ה and הֶ which are very easily confused." Yet he tells us: "It cannot be urged, however, that $\epsilon\nu\ \sigma\iota\delta\alpha$ yields an unsuitable sense." This is a very grudging admission. "One thing I know" makes a very suitable sense. It is much stronger than Dr. Burney's "this I know"; and no valid objection can be raised against it. The healed man knew *one* thing beyond all peradventure: "whereas I was blind, now I see." If Dr. Burney must prove beyond "reasonable doubt," his theory of an Aramaic original, this alleged mistranslation shows quite clearly how meagre is the evidence which he can adduce in its support.

In xx. 2 Dr. Burney refers to "the strange use of $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\ \sigma\iota\delta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$." He thinks Mary Magdalene should have said, "and not do *I* know where they have laid him." The "we" he would explain as a "misreading," לֹא יָדַעְנָא having been read by the translator as perfect, instead of as fem. sing. ptc. combined

with the pron. of the first pers. sing. But Dr. Burney's correction of the Greek text is quite superfluous. The parallel passages (Mt. xxviii. 1, Mk. xvi. 1; cf. Lk. xxiv. 1) state clearly that Mary did not go alone to the sepulchre. The use of the "we" in John confirms this. In making her startling report Mary includes her companions, partly as a simple statement of fact, more likely, perhaps, to give added weight to her words. The Apostles doubtless knew that several of the women intended to go to the tomb with spices. Furthermore, the reading which Dr. Burney proposes is open to question. In Pal. Syr. which Dr. Burney often cites: "I (fem.) know" is correctly written as ידעא אנה (John xi. 22, 24). Dr. Burney seems to overlook the fact that the participle should be feminine while as he has written it, there would be no difference between the feminine and masculine. That he has thus confused the forms is indicated by his reference to the Targ. of Onk. on Num. xxii. 6 where the subject (Balak) of course requires the masculine of the participle. He tells us further that the οἶδαμεν of iii. 2 is possibly to be explained in similar fashion. As to this we observe simply that Pal. Syr., Sin. and Pesh. are all opposed to this conjecture.

In xx. 18 Dr. Burney is troubled by the words "I have found the Lord." He thinks "the change from direct to oblique oration is strange and awkward." Since in Aramaic "I saw" and "she saw" are exactly alike in the unpointed text, he sees here another example of "mistranslation." It should be noted on the contrary that "much the most usual complement of Verbs of saying is direct discourse introduced by ὅτι recitativum,"⁶⁴ and that direct discourse readily passes over into indirect and vice versa.⁶⁵ Furthermore if the reading in Greek is as awkward as Dr. Burney would have us believe, it is surprising that an at all competent translator should make such a simple and obvious blunder. This would seem to be a case where the more difficult reading is inherently more probable.

⁶⁴ Cf. Blass-Debrunner § 397, 5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, § 470.

Would time and space permit we might examine more of the data cited by Dr. Burney in support of the theory that the Fourth Gospel is a version of a lost Aramaic original. However, two conclusions seem to be clearly warranted by the investigation which we have conducted, incomplete though it is. The first of these conclusions is that Dr. Burney has not kept in mind the standard which he himself proposed. He tells his readers in the preface that the task is to prove "beyond the range of reasonable doubt" that the Fourth Gospel is based on an Aramaic original. It is clear, we think, that again and again Dr. Burney renders the verdict in favor of his theory where there is *very reasonable doubt* of its correctness, where the most that can be said is that the phenomena he cites *might* be explained in this way. We have paid special attention to the data given in the chapter on "Mistranslations" since there we should find the strongest evidence in favor of this theory. We have found no case where the "might" has to be exchanged for "must." We have found instances where the conclusion drawn is improbable and some cases where it is clearly wrong. The second conclusion we are justified in reaching is that Dr. Burney's presentation of the case is dangerously one-sided. He states the evidence in favor of his theory. He does not state the evidence against it. His rôle is that of advocate and special pleader. He is concerned to discover and state the "pros"; he leaves it to the reader to discover the "cons." The consequence is that the reader who has neither the time nor the specialized training to investigate the question for himself is almost certain to form as mistaken an impression of the real merits of the question, as a man who leaves the hall of debate when only one side has been presented.

A significant feature in Dr. Burney's presentation of his argument is the frequency and apparent readiness with which he uses the word "mistranslation" and its equivalent. Dr. Burney is "Oriental Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture" at Oxford University. Yet he is so eager to prove this theory of an Aramaic original for the Fourth Gospel that

he seems to care little for the effect which it will have upon the reliability and authority of the only text of the Gospel which we know historically, the *Greek* text. He does not hesitate to charge the Greek text with being a mistranslation even where he is forced to admit that it is at least as good as the reading he favors. If he could prove his thesis, the only Fourth Gospel which we really know would lose greatly in prestige and authority. The Greek original would be reduced to the level of a bungling translation. It is this as was pointed out at the outset which constitutes the real seriousness of the issue raised by the theory of Aramaic originals. And the fact that Dr. Burney's argument is so unconvincing is calculated to vindicate the historic faith of the Christian Church in the trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel in Greek.

Princeton.

OSWALD T. ALLIS.

BEHOLD, THIS DREAMER

JOHN BUNYAN AND HIS TERCENTENARY*

Leaving the noisy and ill-smelling street in a now rather shabby part of the city, one enters by an ancient iron gateway into Bunhill Fields, one of London's most famous burial grounds. Venerable trees with their outstretched arms cast their shadows across the closely crowded tombs of the dead. On the benches along the paths, poor and decayed old men, more welcome among the dead than the living, sit and chat amiably together undisturbed by their gloomy surroundings. Passing down one of these narrow lanes between the graves, the visitor surveys a dismal harvest of the trophies and tokens of mortality. But here and there the eye lights upon a name which can never die. Here, on this stone, he reads the name, Susanna Wesley, the great mother of the Wesleys; and here on another tomb the name Isaac Watts, and as he looks he seems to hear the melody of Watts' grand hymn, "When I survey the wondrous cross." And over here is the grave of Daniel DeFoe, author of *Robinson Crusoe*, one of the two most popular books in the English tongue. And not far off is another famous grave. Before the visitor can make out the name carved upon it, the sculptured relief of a Pilgrim kneeling at the foot of the Cross, while his bundle rolls from his back, tells him that he is standing by the grave of the author of the other best known English book, *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Bunyan was born in November, 1628, near Elstow, a hamlet not far from Bedford. When Bunyan was born, Richard Baxter was eight years of age, George Fox, the founder of the Friends, was four; Cromwell was twenty-eight, going up to take his seat in Parliament; John Milton

* The "Stone Lectures" for 1928 were delivered by Dr. Macartney in Miller Chapel on the afternoons of November 19-23, the subject being "Sons of Thunder." That the first of these lectures should deal with Bunyan was especially appropriate in view of the Bunyan Tercentenary. Unavoidable delay in the publication of the REVIEW has made it possible to include this lecture in this issue. [Ed.]

was twenty, beginning to dream of writing poetry "such as the world would not willingly let die"; Shakespeare had been sleeping for twelve years beneath the stone in the church on the banks of quiet Avon; the New England Colony had passed through the storms and trials of eight winters; Charles I was on the throne of England, and on the political horizon some could discern a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, but a cloud which was to grow and swell in dimension and blackness until it broke over England in the storm of the Civil War.

Bunyan's father, like himself, was a tinker. "My father's house," he says, "being of that rank that is the meanest and most despised of all the families in the land." Yet he rejoices that by this humble door God brought him into the world to partake of the grace in life that is in Christ by the Gospel. Although he was of the meanest rank, the father of Bunyan saw to it that his son learned to read and write and sent him to the grammar school. When visiting Elstow in July, 1928, I was struck with the unfamiliarity of the church sexton with the history of the church whose attendant he was. But he at length explained his inability to answer my questions by telling me that he could neither read nor write. This was in England in July 1928! But three hundred years ago the son of a poor tinker was sent to the grammar school and learned to read and write. What would the world have missed had John Bunyan's father not sent him to school to learn to read and to write!

For the story of Bunyan's boyhood and youth, his conversion, his early preaching, and the first part of his prison experience, we must depend upon his own *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, a work written in the prison and one of the most remarkable autobiographies and confessions ever penned. In this book where he unveils and reveals the inmost of his soul, Bunyan describes himself in childhood and youth as a great sinner. It has been a fashion with his biographers to say that as in the case of Augustine and his *Confessions*, we must not take these self-condemnations too literally, but

as the exaggerated expressions of a mind which has come to know the Lord and regrets the days of ignorance and unbelief. Macaulay even goes the length of saying, "It is quite certain that Bunyan was at eighteen years what in any but the most austere puritanical circles, would have been considered as a young man of singular gravity and innocence." But there are those who will still prefer to take Bunyan at his word when he said that he was "filled with all unrighteousness, both in my heart and life, and that from a child I had but few equals both for cursing, swearing, lying and blaspheming the Holy name of God." He intimates very plainly that had it not been for the miracle of his conversion, he would not only have perished by the stroke of eternal justice, but would have suffered the righteous judgments of this world. In one of his sermons he makes the confession that he was not only a sinner himself, but a great sin breeder: "I infected all the youths of the town where I was born with all manner of youthful vanity."

In an age when no one doubted the existence of heaven and hell, devils and angels, this boy of tremendous imagination had anxious and troubled nights, with apprehensions of devils, wicked spirits, and thoughts of the fearful torments of hell-fire. So much was this so, that he tells us that even as a boy he wished either that there had been no hell or that he had been a devil, so that if he must go to hell, he might be rather a tormentor than tormented himself. He had three narrow escapes from death—twice from drowning and once from the bite of an adder. But these incidents did nothing to awaken his soul to righteousness. It is in connection with this that Bunyan makes a casual mention of his experience in the Civil War, an experience which he dismisses with a single sentence: "When I was a soldier, I with others was drawn to such a place to besiege it, but when I was just ready to go one of the company desired to go in my room, to which when I consented, he took my place, and coming to the siege as he stood sentinel, he was shot in the head with a musket bullet and died." That is all Bunyan has to say about the Civil War.

He does not even tell us on what side he fought, although it has been generally supposed that he fought in the Parliamentary Army, and that the siege to which he referred, was the siege of Leicester. This is the view taken by Kipling in his stirring verses "The Holy War," written during the World War :—

A tinker out of Bedford,
A vagrant oft in quod,
A private under Fairfax,
A minister of God—

Two hundred years and thirty
Ere Armageddon came
His single hand portrayed it,
And Bunyan was his name!

We would give a great deal to have from Bunyan's pen, so apt to describe battles and sieges and councils, an account of some of the battles and personalities of the Civil War. Was he at Naseby, or Marston Moor, and did he see Cromwell, or Fairfax, or Monk, or Prince Rupert? But not a word does he tell us save to relate his own, and to him, providential, escape from death. The war in which he was interested was not England's Civil War and the struggle between Crown and Parliament, but the civil war within the heart of man where Heaven and Hell contend for the mastery of the soul. He could say with another and a greater spiritual gladiator, "For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against the spiritual wickedness in high places."

When he returned from the war, about the age of seventeen or eighteen, Bunyan married a girl whom he described as "poor as poor might be." He says they came together "not having so much household stuff as a dish or spoon betwixt them." But this girl-bride brought with her two books, *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* and *The Practice of Piety*. Out of these two books she was wont to read to her tinker husband, wherein he says, "I found some things that were somewhat pleasing to me." His marriage and the reading of

these books begat within him a desire to reform his vicious life, and he fell in very easily with church going and had a great and almost superstitious reverence for the priest and the clerk at the church. But all the while his heart was at enmity with God.

One day the Elstow parson preached on the evils of Sabbath breaking. Bunyan felt that the sermon was directed toward him, for this was a vice, he confesses, "in which I did solace myself." He went home greatly loaded with the sermon; but when his dinner was over, he felt better and returned to the green to play one-o'-cat with his companions. He had struck one blow from the hole, and was just about to strike the second time, when suddenly he heard a voice from heaven which said, "Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven, or have thy sins and go to hell?" It seemed to him that the Lord Jesus was looking down upon him and "hotly displeased" with him. He hesitated for a little, and then in despair concluded that he "had as good be damned for many sins as for few," and went on with his sport, his only fear being that he should die before he could get his fill of sin. Yet that voice left a disturbing echo in the youth's mind.

Not long after this incident on the green, he was sitting on a bench outside of a neighbor's shop window, "cursing and swearing and playing the madman after my wonted manner." Within the window was a very loose and ungodly woman, who, shocked at his profanity, expostulated with him and told him that his words made her to tremble. This reproof silenced him and sobered him, and from that forward he was able to leave off swearing. This rebuke was followed by a talk with "one poor man who made profession of religion and who talked pleasantly of the scripture." This led Bunyan to the reading of the Bible. He says that he took great pleasure in reading the historical parts, but as for St. Paul's Epistles and such like Scriptures, "I could not away with them." His confessions give every indication of a sincere desire on his part to lead a moral and religious life, yet he says of himself, that he was "nothing but a poor, painted hypocrite, who

loved to be talked of as one that was truly godly." It was a year before he could give up his dancing, and it was only after a hard battle that he could relinquish the pleasure of bell ringing. At first he would go to the steeple house and look on while others rang the bell. Then he began to think, "How if one of the bells should fall?" This led him to take his stand under a main beam, thinking that if the bell fell he would be safe there. Then he thought to himself, "What if the bell first hit the wall and then rebounded upon me?" This made him move to the steeple door. But then it came into his head, "What if the steeple itself should fall?" and with that he fled. We are at a loss to know just why Bunyan so reproached himself with bell ringing, unless because it was done out of season. His fondness for the music of bells comes out in the last page of *Pilgrim's Progress*, where we have a sweet echo of Elstow's melodious bells, for as Hopeful and Christian came up out of the river, "they had the city itself in view, and they thought they heard all the bells therein to ring to welcome them thereto."

The next step in his illumination was hearing three or four poor women sitting at a door in the sun, talking about the things of God. Their talk was of the new birth, of the work of God in their hearts, and how they were comforted and refreshed by the love of Christ. As he went about his employment, mending the pots and pans of the neighborhood, "their talk and discourse went with him." He felt that they were happy and that he was wretched. Although groping in the darkness, he puts himself on record as thanking God that he was kept free from the abominations and impurities of those who were spoken of as "Ranters." "This," he says, "was all the more wonderful because these temptations were suitable to my flesh, I being but a young man and my nature in its prime. But God who had, as I hoped, designed me for better things, kept me in the fear of his name and did not suffer me to accept such cursed principles."

In his anxiety to know whether or not he had faith, he was tempted to work a miracle, and one day between Elstow and

Bedford, he was about to say to the puddles that were in the horse path, "Be dry," and to the dry places, "Be you puddles." If he had faith, he ought to be able to work miracles. But just as he was about to speak, this thought came into his mind, "Go under yonder hedge and pray first that God would make you able." When he had prayed he concluded that he had better not try the experiment, because if he failed he would have to look upon himself as a castaway. "Nay," thought I, "if it be so, I will not try yet, but will stay a little longer." This incident reminds one of what Rousseau tells us in his *Confessions* about his anxiety concerning election. He determined to decide the matter as to whether or not he was of the elect by throwing an apple at a tree. If he missed, he was doomed to be lost. If he hit the tree, he was of the elect. He tells us that he hit the tree, but confesses that he had chosen a tree of considerable diameter.

After his talk with the poor women sitting in a door in the sun, Bunyan had a dream or vision in which he saw these poor people sitting on the sunny side of a high mountain refreshing themselves with the pleasant beams of the sun, while he was shivering and shrinking in the cold. Betwixt himself and them he saw a wall that was encompassed about the mountain, and through this wall his soul greatly desired to pass concluding that if he could he would go even into the very midst of them and there also comfort himself with the heat of their sun. By a great effort and a "sideling striving," he contrived to get his shoulders and body through and was comforted by the light of the sun. He concludes that the mountain signified the church of the living God, the sun that shone thereon the comfortable shining of His merciful face on them that were in; the wall he took to be the world which separated between Christians and the world, and the gap which was in the wall was Jesus Christ. None could enter into life but those that were in downright earnest, and unless also they left that wicked world behind them, "for here was only room for body and soul, but not for body and soul and sin." In this passage we hear sounding the first

note of that music which was to thrill and charm the world in *Pilgrim's Progress*.

In his earnest attention to the matter of eternal life, Bunyan was tormented by fears as to whether or not he was reprobate and whether or not he had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. Some passages in the Bible, such as, "For it is neither in him that willeth nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy," filled him with despair rather than hope; and yet at times he would hear the music of such promises as these; "And yet there is room," and the words of Christ, "Follow Me." He wished in his heart that he had been born in the age of Peter and John, so that when he heard Christ say to them, "Follow Me," he could have leaped to follow Him. "But, Oh, I feared he would not call me."

In Bedford at this time there was a Baptist minister, a Mr. Gifford, who frequently talked with Bunyan in his home and tried to lead him in that path of life. This Gifford had formerly been an officer in the Royal Army, and a wicked and licentious man. He was condemned by Fairfax to be hanged. The night before the day set for his execution, he escaped and finally found his way to Bedford, where he settled down to the practice of medicine. Through the reading of a Puritan book he was suddenly and mightily converted and straightway became an exhorter and preacher among the dissenters of Bedford. In 1650 he became the minister of the dissenting congregation. It was to his church that Bunyan was called when he came out of prison in 1672. Gifford did what he could to help him, yet Bunyan confesses that his state was sad and terrible, and that looking back at his condition at that time often made him think of the child which the father brought to Christ, "who while he was yet coming to him, was thrown down by the devil, and also so rent and torn by him, that he lay and wallowed foaming." In moments of great despair he would lay hold upon such passages of Scripture as these, "without shedding of blood is no remission"; "Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair." But

just when he was beginning to take some comfort and hope, the tempter began to assail him with doubts as to the Scriptures: "How can you tell but that the Turks had as good scriptures to prove their Mahomet the Saviour as we have to prove our Jesus? And could I think, that so many ten thousands in so many countries and kingdoms, should be without the knowledge of the right way to heaven (if there were indeed a heaven), and that we only, who live in a corner of the earth, should alone be blessed therewith? Everyone doth think his own religion rightest, both Jews and Moors, and Pagans; and how if all our faith, and Christ, and scriptures, should be but a think so too?" After all, doubt in the seventeenth century is much the same as doubt in the twentieth, the tenth or in the first century.

But the hardest battle which Bunyan had to fight was a battle with the temptation "to sell Christ." For the space of a year this temptation followed him continually, so that he was not rid of it a day or a month, sometimes not an hour in the day unless he were asleep. The tempter would say to him, "Sell him; sell him; sell him," and he would answer, "I will not; I will not; I will not—no, not for a thousand, thousand, thousands of worlds." But one morning, fiercely assaulted by this temptation, and after he had answered many times, "No, no, not for thousands of worlds," at least as many as "twenty times," wearied with the battle, he said, "Let him go if he will. And down fell I, as a bird that is shot from the top of a tree, into great guilt and fearful despair." Getting out of his bed he went moping into the field like a man bereft of life. In his desperation he began to compare his sin first with the sin of David, whose adultery and murder were heinous crimes. But these sins were against the law of Moses from which the Lord Christ could deliver him. But his were against the Gospel, against the Mediator thereof—he had sold his Saviour. Then he compared his sin with the sin of Peter. The sin which came nighest to his own, for he had denied his Saviour. Yet he found no comfort in this comparison, for he considered that Peter's was but a denial of

his Master, whereas his was a selling of his faith. From Peter he turned to Judas, feeling that if his sin should differ from that of Judas so that by the breadth of an hair, what a happy condition his soul would be in. The result was that he found Judas did his intentionally, whereas his was against prayer and striving, and that Judas committed his crime with much deliberation, but his was done in a fearful hurry. All the while there kept reverberating in his mind the words of the Epistle, "That profane person, Esau, who for one morsel of meat, sold his birthright." Yet in his agony he would lay hold upon words like these, "And him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out"; or, again, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." Finding no comfort or satisfaction in comparing his sin with those of any particular individual or saint in the Scriptures, he hit upon the plan of putting all their sins together against his alone, thinking that although his sin was greater than that of anyone, yet, if it should prove to be only equal to all their sins, there would be hopes for him. But here, too, he was doomed to disappointment. His sin was point blank against his Saviour. "Oh! methought this sin was bigger than the sins of the country, of a kingdom or of the whole world."

The breaking of the day for him was a voice which he heard as he was walking to and fro in a good man's shop, "Didst thou ever refuse to be justified by the blood of Christ?" Then he began with more hope to seek the Lord, and with strong cries to pray, "O Lord, I beseech Thee, show me that Thou hast loved me with an everlasting love." When the devil tempted him and told him that it was idle for him to pray, for his sin was unpardonable, the Scripture, "O man, great is thy faith," came to him as if one had "clapped him on the back, as he was on his knees before God." There darted in upon him, too, another verse, "My grace is sufficient for thee." Through such a Slough of Despond as this, the poor pilgrim struggled and panted, until at length, kneeling at the Cross, and relying not upon his own efforts, but upon the righteousness of Christ, he lost the burden of his

sin and saw it no more. He tells us that his final period of eclipse and darkness and gloom was ended by his hearing the words sounding in his heart, "I must go to Jesus. At this my former darkness and atheism fled away and the blessed things of heaven were set within my view." Perhaps those words were still ringing in Bunyan's mind when, on the August day, 1688, at the home of Mr. Strudwick, in London, just before he breathed his last, he said, "Take me, for I come to Thee." The long struggle was ended. He was "safe in the arms of Jesus."

For a number of years after his conversion, Bunyan remained an inconspicuous member of the Baptist meeting at Bedford. But those who had listened to him give an account in private of his religious experience, urged him to speak a word of exhortation unto them at one of their meetings, to which he says, "Though at first it did much dash and abash my spirit, yet being still by them desired and entreated, I consented to their request, and did twice at two several assemblies, but 'in private, though with much weakness and infirmity, discover my gift amongst them." After several experiments in this kind of exhortation, he was solemnly set aside and called forth by prayer and fasting to "a more ordinary and public preaching of the word." At first, he could not believe that God could speak to the heart of man by him, and yet when he saw how many were touched by what he said, and loved him for his witness, he blessed God that He had counted him an instrument to show them the way of salvation. Here was a man who had seen Heaven and Hell, and the crowds resorted to his preaching. With the crowds there came, too, the adversaries and the enemies. "When I first went to preach the word abroad, the doctors and priests of the country did open wide against me; but I was persuaded of this, not to render railing for railing; but to see how many of their carnal professors I could convince of their miserable state by the law, and of the want and worth of Christ."

In the archives of the House of Lords, there is still to be seen a petition from the parishioners of Yelden against their

rector because on a Christmas Day he had suffered "one Bunyan of Bedford, a tinker," to speak in his pulpit. What would that church at Yeldon, or any church in the Protestant world in Christendom today, not give to hear Bunyan, the tinker, preach in his pulpit!

In his preachings, Bunyan says that the Lord led him to begin where His word begins with sinners, that is to condemn all flesh:

I preached what I felt, what I smartingly did feel; even that under which my poor soul did groan and tremble to astonishment. Indeed, I have been as one sent to them from the dead; I went myself in chains, to preach to them in chains; and carried that fire in my own conscience, that I persuaded them to be aware of. I can truly say, and that without dissembling, that when I have been to preach, I have gone full of guilt and terror, even to the pulpit door, and there it hath been taken off, and I have been at liberty in my mind until I have done my work; and then immediately, even before I could get down the pulpit stairs, I have been as bad as I was before; yet God carried me on, but surely with a strong hand, for neither guilt nor hell could take me off my work.

For two years he preached in this way crying out against men's sins. Then he tells us he altered in his preaching, for Christ did give him many "sweet discoveries of his blessed grace." He still preached, he says, what he saw and felt, but now did much labor to "hold forth Jesus Christ in all his offices, relations, and benefits unto the world, and did strive also to discover, to condemn, and remove those false supports and props on which the world doth lean, and by them fall and perish."

He tells us that he cared little for controversial preaching. "But it pleased me much to contend with great earnestness for the word of faith, and the remission of sins by the death and sufferings of Jesus: but I say, as to other things, I should let them alone, because I saw they engendered strife. Besides, I saw my work before me did run in another channel, even to carry an awakening word; to that therefore I did stick and adhere." On the whole, this was true. Yet his first volume was directed against the Quakers whose idea of an inner light or guidance equal to the Scriptures made him exceedingly mad. Bunyan seems to have identified the Quakers with

sects like the Ranters and others who at that time plagued England. He expresses astonishment that either the earth does not swallow them up or the devil does not take them away alive. The title of his work against them is hardly in keeping with what he says in *Grace Abounding* of his purpose to avoid controversy:

Some Gospel truths open according to the Scriptures, or the divine and human nature of Jesus Christ, His coming into the world, His righteousness, death, resurrection, ascension, intercession and second coming to judgment, plainly demonstrated and proved, and also answered the several questions with profitable direction to stand fast in the doctrine of Jesus the son of Mary against the blustering storms of the devil's temptations which do at this day like so many scorpions break loose from the bottomless pit to blight and torment those who have not tasted the virtue of Jesus by the revelation of the Spirit of God. Published for the good of God's chosen ones by that unworthy servant of Christ, John Bunyan of Bedford, by the grace of God, preacher of the Gospel of His dear Son.

This "preacher of the Gospel of His dear Son," by the grace of God, confesses to sore temptation in the early days of his preaching. Sometimes he was subject to great discouragement, fearing that he would not be able to speak a word of edification. At other times strange faintness, strengthlessness seized upon his body so that his legs could scarce carry him to the place of preaching. Again, as he was in the midst of his sermons he would be violently assaulted with thoughts of blasphemy and tempted to utter them before the congregation. At other times when he had begun to speak with clearness and liberty, he became so confused and blinded and straitened in speech "as if my head had been in a bag all the time of my exercise." Most of all, he felt the temptation which has come to so many preachers to avoid certain texts because the sermon preached on them condemned the preacher also. "I thank the Lord, I have been kept from consenting to these so horrid suggestions, and have, rather as Samson, bowed myself with all my might, to condemn sin and transgression wherever I found it. Let me die, thought I, with the Philistines, rather than deal corruptly with the blessed Word of God."

A sample of his early preaching is his sermon "Sighs from Hell, or The Groans of a Damned Soul," on the parable of Dives and Lazarus. This is the sermon which Charles II is said to have had bound between the covers of a salacious French novel. But however the light-minded Charles received the sermon, it must have been heard with fear and trembling by those to whom it was preached. The sermon reverberates with the groans and cries of the lost. The following passage out-Edwards Edwards in its description of the anguish of the lost.

Set the case: You should take a man and tie him to a stake, and with red-hot pincers, pinch off his flesh by little pieces for two or three years together, and at last, when the poor man cries out for ease and help, the tormentors answer, Nay; "but, besides all this," you will be handled worse.

We will serve you thus these twenty years together, and after that we will fill your mangled body full of scalding lead, or run you through with a red-hot spit; would not this be lamentable? Yet this is but a flea-biting to the sorrow of those that go to Hell. There they shall be ever whining, pining, weeping, mourning, ever tormented without ease, and yet never dissolved into nothing; if the biggest devil in Hell might pull thee all to pieces, and dissolve thee into nothing, thou wouldst count this a mercy. But here thou mayest lie and fry, scorch and broil, and burn forever.

No one today could preach the terrors of the law in terms like that. The problem of the modern preacher of the modern pulpit is how to keep the great note of future retribution reverberating through the Church and the world, and yet not repel by the employment of the figures of speech of Jonathan Edwards and John Bunyan.

But Bunyan could strike other notes as a preacher, and he testifies that when he was engaged in the doctrine of life by Christ without work it was as if an angel of God had stood at his back to encourage him. His own idea of the office and the work of the preacher is beautifully presented to us in *Pilgrim's Progress*. Evangelist first encounters the pilgrim, gives him a parchment roll on which was written, "Flee from the wrath to come" and then points him over the wide field to the Wicket Gate, where was a Shining Light. When Chris-

tian was lured out of the way by Worldly Wiseman to go to Mr. Legality's house for help, Evangelist again appears unto him, shows him how the just shall live by faith, and leads him back to the way to the Wicket Gate. When he comes to the Interpreter's House, the Interpreter shows him what is profitable for him. "He had him into a private room and bade his man open the door, the which when he had done, Christian saw the picture of a very grave person hung up against the wall and this was the fashion of it. It had eyes lifted up to Heaven, the best of books in his hand, the law of truth was written upon his lips, the world was behind its back; it stood as if it pleaded with men, and a crown of gold did hang over its head." The sculptor of the Bunyan monument took his inspiration from this picture in the house of the Interpreter and embodied it in the statue. It represents Bunyan standing with his eyes lifted up to Heaven, and the Bible in his hand as if he pleaded earnestly with men.

Bunyan's conception of the office of the minister is further illustrated by what he tells us of the shepherds who kept their flocks on the top of the Delectable Mountain. The names of the Shepherds were Knowledge, Experience, Watchful and Sincere. They are the Shepherds of the flock of God, pointing them the way to Heaven and warning them against the dangers by the way. Before the pilgrims go forward, the Shepherds permit them to look through the perspective glass from the top of the hill called Clear. Although their hands shook, yet they thought they saw something like the Gate of the Celestial City, and also some of the glory of the place. Then they went away and sang this song:—

Thus by the Shepherds secrets are reveal'd,
Which from all other men are kept conceal'd.
Come to the Shepherds, then, if you would see
Things deep, things hid, and that mysterious be.

If to these representations of the ministerial office be added what Bunyan tells us of Watchful, the porter at the Palace Beautiful, who examines those who would enter the Palace, we have the work of the ministry set forth as that of one who

warns, instructs, pleads, examines, and lures men on to seek after Eternal Life. We can be sure that Bunyan, in his ministerial and pastoral office, was sometimes Evangelist, giving the conscience stricken sinner the roll to carry; at another time, Interpreter, explaining to him the word of God. Again, Watchful, scrutinizing the motives of the heart and observing the habits of the life. And again, the Shepherd, opening up to men the Unseen, and in the midst of the mortal world showing them the glories of the Eternal World and the Celestial City.

In his preaching, as in his writing, Bunyan was, as Macaulay has called him, "a living concordance." Yet for the most part, his Bible exegesis is marked by a noble common sense. In the second part of *Pilgrim's Progress*, Prudence questions Matthew about the Bible.

PRUDENCE: "What do you think of the Bible?"

MATTHEW: "It is the holy word of God."

PRUDENCE: "Is there nothing written therein but what you understand?"

MATTHEW: "Yes; a great deal."

PRUDENCE: "What do you do when you meet with such places therein that you do not understand?"

MATTHEW: "I think God is wiser than I. I pray, also, that He will please to let me know all therein that He knows will be for my good."

The above dialogue is to be read on a tablet on the walls of Canterbury Cathedral. It has a world of sense in it, and Bunyan was not unmindful of these principles in his own preaching.

Assailed by temptations from within to cease from preaching, Bunyan was also assailed from without. "But when Satan perceived that his thus tempting and assaulting me, would not answer his design; to wit, to overthrow the ministry, and make it ineffectual, as to the ends thereof; then he tried another way, which was, to stir up the minds of the ignorant and malicious to load me with slanders and reproaches: now therefore, I may say, that what the devil could devise, and his instruments invent, was whirled up and down the country against me, thinking, as I said, that by that means

they should make my ministry to be abandoned. It began therefore to be rumoured up and down among the people, that I was a witch, a jesuit, a highwayman, and the like. But that which was reported with the boldest confidence, was that I had my misses, my whores, my bastards, yea, two wives at once, and the like."

All these slanders, Bunyan lived down by the purity of his life. He gloried in them as "cast upon me by the devil and his seed. . . . And should I not be dealt with thus wickedly by the world, I should want one sign of a saint, and a child of God. 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for My sake.' So then, what shall I say to those who have thus bespattered me? Shall I threaten them? Shall I chide them? Shall I flatter them? Shall I entreat them to hold their tongues? No, not I. Were it not for that these things make them ripe for damnation that are the authors and abettors, I would say unto them, 'Report it' because it will increase my glory. Therefore I bind these lies and slanders to me as an ornament. I rejoice in reproaches for Christ's sake."

The most serious attack on Bunyan by Giant Slaygood, in Assault Lane was in connection with a country maiden, Agnes Beaumont, in 1674. A suit was made to this maiden by a local lawyer, Farry. But as he was a man of the world, Bunyan opposed the match. This aroused the enmity and stirred the vengeance of Farry. The disappointed father also forbade Agnes going to the Bedford Meeting. On a winter day, Bunyan, passing Agnes on the road, took her up to ride behind him on the way to a preaching service. This was observed by those who were eager to bring a "railing accusation" against him. The girl was refused admittance to her home by her angry father, and spent the night in an out-house. The same night her father was taken with a sudden illness and died before help could reach him. At once ugly rumours were abroad that the girl had poisoned her father and had been instigated to do it by Bunyan. This report threatened the girl with a terrible fate, and involved the good

name of Bunyan, his family, and his congregation. But at the coroner's inquest, the evidence showed that Beaumont had died from natural causes, and that there was no ground for the charge against the young woman. Such were some of the trials through which this great preacher had to pass.

The printed sermons of Bunyan which have come down to us have the terrible prolixity and endless Scriptural citation which marked the sermons of the Puritan preachers. Some of his sermons are nothing short of a theological treatise and must have been greatly enlarged after their delivery. But if in some of his sermons, he seems to sound only the note of doom and condemnation, in others he is the earnest ambassador for Christ, and sounds the note of hope and welcome. This we hear in his sermon, "Come and welcome to Jesus Christ." In the conclusion of that sermon, he speaks of heavenly things as a troubador for Christ:

Art thou coming? This is also by the virtue of illumination. Art thou coming? This is because God has inclined thine heart to come. Art thou coming to Jesus Christ? It is God that giveth thee power. Coming sinner, hast thou not now and then a kiss of the sweet lips of Jesus Christ, I mean some blessed word dropping like a honey-comb upon thy soul to revive thee, when thou art in the midst of thy dumps? Does not Jesus Christ sometimes give thee a glimpse of Himself, though perhaps thou seest Him not so long a time as while one may tell twenty? Hast thou not sometimes as it were the very warmth of His wings overshadowing the face of thy soul, that gives thee as it were a gload upon thy spirit, as the bright beams of the sun do upon thy body, when it suddenly breaks out of a cloud, though presently all is gone away!

At times Bunyan could command a very lofty style as in his introduction to the *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*:—

For that wickedness like a flood is like to drown our English world; it begins already to be above the tops of the mountains; it has almost swallowed up all; our youth, our middle age, old age, and all, are almost carried away of this flood. O debauchery, debauchery, what hast thou done in England! Thou hast corrupted our young men, hast made our old men beasts; thou hast deflowered our virgins, and hast made matrons bawds; thou hast made our earth to reel to and fro like a drunkard; it is in danger to be removed like a cottage; yea, it is, because transgression is so heavy upon it, like to *fall and rise no more*. O! that I could mourn for England, and for the sins committed therein.

This passage reminds the reader of some of the passages of

Sir Walter Raleigh, notably, his celebrated "Apostrophe to Death."

An early account of Bunyan describes him in countenance as of a stern and rough temper; in conversation, mild and affable.

He had a sharp quick eye, accompanied with an excellent discerning of persons. As for his person, he was tall of stature, strong boned, though not corpulent, somewhat of a ruddy face, with sparkling eyes, wearing his hair on his upper lip, after the old British fashion; his hair reddish, but in his latter days, time had sprinkled it with grey; his nose well set, but not declining or bending, and his mouth moderately large; his forehead something high, and his habit always plain and modest.

One of Bunyan's great contemporaries was Dr. John Owen, who at first consented to write an introduction to Bunyan's pamphlet on *Differences about Water Baptism*. He was afterwards persuaded to withdraw his endorsement; for which Bunyan was not sorry, saying, "perhaps it was more for the glory of God that truth should go naked into the world than as seconded by so mighty an armour bearer as he." This same Owen frequently heard Bunyan preach when he came to London, notably at Pinner's Hall, where Bunyan, Owen, Bates, Collins, Jenkyn, Manton and Baxter were the preachers. When Charles II once rallied Owen on going to hear an ignorant tinker preach, Owen replied that he would gladly give up all his power and learning for that "tinker's power of preaching."

Not far from Bedford on the banks of this same river Ouse which Bunyan in the town lock-up had watched flow past his prison, William Cowper, in his "Leucononnos" gave us his conception of the preacher's office and rank. When we think of John Bunyan in the pulpit, we recall those words from Cowper's "Task":—

The pulpit,
Must stand acknowledged, while the world shall stand,
The most important and effectual guard,
Support and ornament of virtue's cause.
There stands the messenger of truth. There stands
The legate of the skies; his theme divine,
His office sacred, his credentials clear,

By him, the violated law speaks out
Its thunders, and by him, in strains as sweet
As angels use, the Gospel whispers peace.

Above all else, Bunyan possessed the crowning grace and virtue of the preacher, a burning desire to help and save those who heard him.

When I have been preaching, I thank God my heart hath often all the time of this and the other exercise, with great earnestness cried to God, that He would make the word effectual to the salvation of the soul; still being grieved lest the enemy should take the word away from the conscience, and so it should become unfruitful; wherefore I should labour so to speak the word, as that thereby, if it were possible, the sin and person guilty might be particularized by it. Oh! that they who have heard me speak this day, did but see as I do, what sin, death, hell and the curse of God is; and also what the grace, and love, and mercy of God is, through Christ. And, indeed, I did often say in my heart before the Lord, "That if to be hanged up presently before their eyes, would be a means to awaken them, and confirm them in the truth, I gladly should be contented. . . . If any of those who were awakened by my ministry did after that fall back (as sometimes too many did), I can truly say, their loss hath been more to me, than if my own children begotten of my own body, had been going to the grave. Oh these words! 'He that converteth a sinner from the error of his way, doth save a soul from death.'"

In 1660, political Puritanism had fallen, Cromwell was dead, and Charles the Second ascended the throne of England. One of the first acts of the Restoration was the revival of an act of Elizabeth's reign suppressing Non-Conformist worship, and forbidding the preaching of other than the established clergy. The Bedford Baptists refused to obey the edict and the most conspicuous of their martyrs was John Bunyan. Of his arrest and imprisonment, Bunyan says:—

When, by the good hand of my God, I had for five or six years together, without any great interruption, freely preached the blessed Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; the devil, that old enemy of man's salvation took his opportunity to inflame the hearts of his vassals against me, insomuch, that at the last I was laid out for, by the warrant of a justice, and was taken and committed to prison.

Bunyan was arrested on the twelfth of November, 1660, at a Bedfordshire farmhouse just as he was about to preach to the gathered congregation. He tells us that, had he been so minded, he could have escaped arrest, for he received a warn-

ing that the officers were on his trail. He could have escaped prison, and at any time been released from his imprisonment, had he promised that he would not publicly preach and address the people. This he would not do, and although never formally convicted, he lay in prison for twelve years. At the time of the coronation of Charles II, when it was a custom to release prisoners, Bunyan's second wife, Elizabeth, made an appeal to Justice Hale and other judges at the Swan Inn on the banks of the Ouse, not far from Bunyan's prison. Justice Hale treated Bunyan's wife with great kindness and regretted that he could not answer her petition, taking the ground that Bunyan must sue out a pardon, failing that, she would have to apply herself to the king, or get a writ of error. Seeing that her petition was of no avail, Elizabeth went out from the chamber in sorrow, not so much for herself and her imprisoned husband, as for the judges who did him this wrong. "Only this I remember, that though I was somewhat timorous at my first entrance into the chamber, yet before I went out I could not but break forth into tears, not so much because they were so hard-hearted against me and my husband, but to think what a sad account such poor creatures will have to give at the coming of the Lord, when they shall there answer for all things whatsoever they have done in the body whether it be good or whether it be bad."

The indictment against Bunyan was as follows:—

That John Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, labourer, hath devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to Church to hear divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our Sovereign Lord the King.

Bunyan gives a graphic account of his interviews with constables, justices, clerks, and others, clergy and laymen, who volunteered to appear against him. A Dr. Lindale taunted him, saying that there was a certain Alexander, a copper-smith, who did much oppose and disturb the apostle, "aiming," says Bunyan, "at me because I was a tinker." Bunyan answered briefly and to the point that he had read of many

priests and Pharisees also that had their hands in the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. When Bunyan quoted Scripture to the effect that every man must minister as he hath received the gift, Justice Keelin retorted that he would a "little open" that Scripture to Bunyan. "If any man hath received a gift of tinkering as thou hast done, let him follow his tinkering, and the divine his calling." Bunyan responded with a proper exegesis that in the passage quoted the apostle was speaking of preaching the Word.

No one today regrets the injustice of Bunyan's judges or that he languished twelve years in the prison, for, as he put it, in one of his prison meditations:—

God sometimes visits prisoners more
Than lordly palaces,
He often knocketh at the door,
When he their houses miss.

But it must not be thought that Bunyan's imprisonment was an easy cross for him to bear. He tells us that he fortified himself with the Scriptures, and that never in all his life did he have "so great an inlet to the word of God as now. Those Scriptures that I saw nothing in before are made in this place and state to shine upon me—I have had sweet sights of the forgiveness of my sins in this place and of my being with Jesus in another world." Yet there were times when his resolution was all but shaken, especially when he thought of the sufferings which must come upon his family.

I had often brought to my mind the hardships, miseries, and wants that my poor family was likewise to meet with; especially my poor blind child, who lay nearer my heart than all I had beside. Oh! the thoughts of the hardships I thought my blind one might go under, would break my heart to pieces. Poor child, thought I, what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the wind should blow upon thee.

From this trial of his resolution he was delivered by the consideration—"that if I should now venture all for God, I engage God to take care of my concern."

The thought came home to him that, possibly, his imprisonment might end at the gallows. "Satan laid hard at me, to

beat me out of heart, by suggesting thus unto me : But how if, when you come indeed to die, you should be of this condition ; that is, as not to savour the things of God, nor to have any evidence upon your soul for a better state hereafter?" At first, this greatly troubled him. But he put by any temptation to falter in his prison witness by saying, "It was my duty to stand to His word, whether He would ever look upon me, or save me at the last ; wherefore thought I, save the point being thus, I am for going on, and venturing my eternal state with Christ, whether I have comfort here or no. If God doth not come in, thought I, I will leap off the ladder, even blindfold into eternity ; sink or swim, come heaven, come hell, Lord Jesus, if thou wilt catch me, do ; if not, I will venture all for Thy name."

Towards the end of his imprisonment, Bunyan wrote a glorious paragraph on his obedience to conscience and his witness to truth :—

Indeed, my principles are such as lead me to a denial to communicate in the things in the kingdom of Christ with the ungodly and openly profane. Neither can I, in or by, the superstitious inventions of this world consent that my soul should be governed in any of my approaches to God. But if nothing will do, unless I make of my conscience a continual butchery and slaughtershop, unless putting out my own eyes, I commit me to the blind to lead me, as I doubt is desired by some, I have determined the Almighty God being my help and shield yet to suffer if frail life might continue so long, even till the moss shall grow on my eyebrows rather than thus to violate my faith and principles.

Some are inclined to speak as if Bunyan's twelve years' imprisonment was a light affair. It is indeed true that he must have had considerable liberty for reading and for writing, and that occasionally he was out of the prison. But the most wretched prison in England today is a paradise in contrast with the best of prisons of the seventeenth century. It is an interesting fact that the great prison reformer, John Howard, also lived in Bedford and purchased a home adjoining the Bunyan meeting house. Bunyan was formally pardoned and released by Charles the Second's declaration of indulgence in September 1672. Five months earlier, he had received a royal license to preach and now became the pastor

of the Bunyan Meeting. In 1675, he was again imprisoned, probably in the town lock-up on the bridge over the Ouse, for six months.

Bunyan emerged from the Bedford jail a national figure, and the books which he had written during those twelve years were widely read by the common people of England. From the time of his release in 1672, until his death in 1688, Bunyan pursued his calling as a preacher, pastor and author. Wherever he appeared crowds came to see him and to hear him. The closing chapter of his life was a worthy conclusion to the work of one who thought of himself as an ambassador of the Gospel of reconciliation. In August, 1688, he undertook a journey on horseback from Bedford to Reading, in the hope of reconciling an estranged father and son. He succeeded in the effort, but paid for it with his life. Riding from Reading to London he was overtaken on the road by a storm, and drenched and chilled reached the home of Mr. Strudwick, one of his London friends on Snow Hill. He preached in White Chapel on the following Sunday; but he had received his death blow. On Tuesday he took to his bed and never left it again. He died on August 31, 1688, and was buried in Bunhill Fields. We like to think of him as following his own Pilgrim down into the dark river and up the steep slope on the other side and through the gates into the city, where "he heard all the bells therein to welcome him thereto." "And many Puritans to whom the respect paid by Roman Catholics to the relics and tombs of saints seemed childish or sinful, are said to have begged with their dying breath that their coffins might be placed as near as possible to the coffin of the author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.'" His last words were, "Take me, for I come to Thee." These words were an echo of the words Bunyan tells us he heard when sitting by the fire in his Elstow cottage at the end of his long struggle with darkness and despair, "I must go to Jesus." "At this, my former darkness and atheism fled away, and the blessed things of Heaven were set within my view." So we may believe that when the end came there in the house on

Snow Hill, all his former darkness fled away, and the blessed things of Heaven which he had made so real and beautiful to others were set before his view.

Although living in a day when sects swarmed in the land, Bunyan was a catholic Christian. He had a vision of the Kingdom of God, and of the brotherhood of all true believers. He was baptized himself in the River Ouse, and was pastor of a Baptist Meeting House. Yet he was no "close communionist" and refused to take the ground that "water baptism," as he called it, was an essential initiatory rite for Christian fellowship. His debates are mostly with his own brethren, who were Immersionists, but one gets the impression from reading his tracts on the subject of baptism that he did not regard baptism of any kind as an essential condition of Christian fellowship and Church membership. In his tract, *Differences in Judgment about "Water Baptism" no bar to Communion*, the tract to which Dr. Owen had agreed to write an introduction, and then withdrew, and also the pamphlet, *A Reason of my Practise in Worship*, Bunyan outlines his views on baptism and Church fellowship. He gives expression to sentiments such as these, familiar now, but extraordinary then:—

Vain man! think not by the straightness of thine order in outward and bodily conformity to outward and shadowy circumstances, that thy peace is maintained with God; for peace with God is by faith in the blood of His cross, who hath born the reproaches of you both.—Wherefore he that hath communion with God for Christ's sake, is as good and as worthy of the communion of saints as thyself. He erreth in a circumstance, thou erreth in a substance.

Again:—

Thousands of thousands that could not confess thereto (that is, to water baptism) as we have, more gloriously than we are like to do, acquitted themselves and their Christianity before men, and are now with the innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect.

Again:—

It is love, not baptism that discovereth us to the world to be Christ's disciples. I mean, when we love as saints, and desire communion with others because they have fellowship one with another in their fellowship with God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ.

Again:—

Strange! Take two Christians equal in all parts but this, nay, let one go beyond the other far for grace and holiness; yet this circumstance of water shall drown and sweep away all his excellencies, not counting him worthy of that reception that with hand and heart shall be given a novice in religion, because he consents to water.

Again, stung by the charge that he was disloyal to his own communion, and that "Tis an ill bird that bewrays his own nest," Bunyan says:—

I know none to whom that title (that is, baptists) is so proper as to the disciples of John; and since you would know by what name I would be distinguished from others, I will tell you I would be, and hope I am, a Christian, and choose, if God should count me worthy, to be called a Christian, a believer, or other such name which is approved by the Holy Ghost. And as for those factious titles of Anabaptist, Independent, Presbyterians, or the like, I conclude that they came neither from Jerusalem nor Antioch, but rather from Hell and Babylon, for they naturally tend to division—you may know them by their fruits.

To a nobler strain are these appeals with which Bunyan closes his debate on Baptism:—

I return now to those that are visible saints by calling, that stand at a distance one from another, upon the accounts before specified. Brethren, close, close, be one, as the Father and Christ are one. This is the way to convince the world that you are Christ's; to increase love; to savour and taste the Spirit of God in each other's experience; to see more in the word of God; to remove secret jealousies and murmurings; to bring them out of the world into fellowship that stand now off from the Gospel privilege for the sake of our vain janglings; to make anti-christ shake, totter, and tremble; to leave Babylon, as an habitation for devils and a cage for every unclean and hateful bird; to hasten the works of Christ's Kingdom in the world and to forward His coming to eternal judgment; to obtain much of that, "Well come, good and faithful servant," when you stand before His face.

Again:—

Well, God banish bitterness out of the Churches and pardon them that are the maintainers of schisms and divisions among the godly.

Thus Bunyan was the herald and prophet of a better feeling among the disciples of Christ.

With his wonderful gift of character delineation, and with an imagination whose wings never grew weary, it might have been expected that Bunyan would have written poetry of a first class order. But certainly such was not the case. At first read-

ing, his verses seem little better than rhyming doggerel. Yet, even in his doggerel, there is a note of vigor and originality. About his rhymes there is, as one of his biographers has well put it, "a tinkle and jingle reminiscent of his trade." Yet, now and then, Bunyan strikes a note that is worth listening to. The compilers of the *Oxford Book of Verse* have selected Christiana's song as the best example of his verse:—

Bless'd be the day that I began
A pilgrim for to be;
And blessed also be the man
That thereto moved me.

'Tis true, 'twas long ere I began
To seek to live for ever;
But now I run fast as I can;
'Tis better late than never.

Our tears to joy, our fears to faith,
Are turned, as we see;
Thus our beginning (as one saith)
Shows what our end will be.

Bunyan's lines on "Death" have a real ring to them. The opening stanzas are as follows:—

Death, as a king rampant and stout,
The world he dare engage;
He conquers all, yea, and doth rout
The great, strong, wise and sage.

No king so great, nor prince so strong,
But death can make to yield;
Yea, bind and lay them all along,
And make them quit the field.

In his lines on "Heaven," Bunyan now and then gets out of the dust of mediocrity. For instance, where he sings:—

No night is here for to eclipse
Its spangling rays so bright,
Nor doubt, nor fear, to shut the lips
Of those within this light.

Here run the crystal streams of life,
Quite through all our veins,
And here by love we do unite
With glory's golden chains.

Here and there in his verses, he packs a sermon in itself. For example, in his lines on "Sin," where he says:—

Fools make a mock at sin, will not believe
It carries such a dagger in its sleeve;
How can it be (say they) that such a thing,
So full of sweetness, should e'er wear a sting?

Beholding the sun's reflection upon the clouds in a fair morning, moved Bunyan to write:—

Look yonder, ah! methinks mine eyes do see
Clouds edg'd with silver, as fine garments be!
They look as if they saw the golden face,
That makes black clouds most beautiful with grace.

Most readers of English poetry will agree that Bunyan strikes his highest, perhaps his only truly poetic, note in his "Song of the Child with the Bird on the Bush." These are fine verses, and the effect is not altogether cancelled by the "comparison" tacked on at the end.

My little bird how canst thou sit,
And sing amidst so many thorns?
Let me but hold upon thee get,
My love with honour thee adorns.

Thou art at present little worth,
Five farthings none will give for thee;
But pr'ythee little bird come forth,
Thou of more value art to me.

'Tis true, it is sunshine today,
To-morrow birds will have a storm;
My pretty one, come thou away,
My bosom then shall keep thee warm.

Thou subject art to cold o' nights,
When darkness is thy covering;
At days thy danger's great by kites,
How canst thou then sit there and sing?

Thy food is scarce and scanty too,
'Tis worms and trash which thou dost eat,
Thy present state I pity do,
Come, I'll provide thee better meat.

I'll feed thee with white bread and milk,
And sugar-plums, if thou them crave,
I'll cover thee with finest silk,
That from the cold I may thee save.

My father's palace shall be thine,
Yea, in it thou shalt sit and sing;
My little bird, if thou'lt be mine,
The whole year round shall be thy spring.

I'll teach thee all the notes at court,
Unthought of music thou shalt play,
And all that thither do resort,
Shall praise thee for it ev'ry day.

I'll keep thee safe from cat and cur,
No manner o' harm shall come to thee;
Yea, I will be thy succourer,
My bosom shall thy cabin be.

But lo, behold, the bird is gone,
These charmings would not make her yield;
The child's left at the bush alone,
The bird flies yonder o'er the field.

Such are specimens of Bunyan's verse. But the real poet in the man speaks to us in *Pilgrim's Progress*, where in almost every paragraph his mind takes wing.

Bunyan's four chief works are *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, *Mr. Badman*, *The Holy War*, and *Pilgrim's Progress*, where he describes the progress of the pilgrim "from this world to glory." Bunyan tells us that in *Mr. Badman* he wishes to set forth the "life and death of the ungodly, and of their travel from this world to Hell." This he does under the name and title of *Mr. Badman*. The story of Mr. Badman is cast in the form of a dialogue between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive. Mr. Wiseman does the talking, and Mr. Attentive, as the name implies, does the listening, although now and then he asks Mr. Wiseman a significant question. Bunyan traces the history of Badman, which some have thought has an autobiographic note, through a wild and godless youth up to his manhood, and from manhood to death. This villain, pretending to be interested in religion, woos and wins a maid "that was both godly and one that had a goodly portion." She is no more won as his wife, than he throws off the mask and shows himself in his true and wicked colors. He is a drunkard, a whore-monger, and a dishonest man.

In commenting on Badman's drunkenness, Bunyan has a pungent paragraph in which he tells of a gentleman who had a drunkard to be his groom. When the groom had returned home one night drunken, his master in the morning, in order to convince the groom that he was worse than a beast, had him ride the horse to water. When he had done so, he told him to water him again. The fellow "rid him" into the water the second time; but his master's horse would now drink no more, so the fellow came up and told his master. Then, said his master, "Thou drunken sot, thou art far worse than my horse; he will drink but to satisfy nature, but thou wilt drink to the abuse of nature; he will drink but to refresh himself, but thou, to thy hurt and damage; he will drink that he will be more serviceable to his master, but thou, till thou art incapable of serving either God or man. O, thou beast, how much art thou worse than the horse thou ridest on."

The criticism has been made of Bunyan that he represents religious egoism and selfishness at its height, that is, he is a type of the man who is interested in saving only his own soul. He lets the City of Destruction look out for itself, and starts for the Celestial City. But such a criticism only shows how far Bunyan has succeeded in his allegory which like light hides itself while "revealing all beside its colorless and undistorting medium." For the City of Destruction is not a locality, but a state, a state of mind, and one which Wiseman does well to flee. In Mr. Badman, we have religion applied to daily life and business, not that Badman makes the application, but Bunyan shows how his life and practice violate the laws of Christian living. He describes how Mr. Badman fails after he has borrowed large sums from his friends and townsmen, and thus feathers his nest. In this respect, Mr. Badman belongs to the twentieth century as well as to Bedford and the seventeenth century.

At length, the heart-broken wife dies, warning her children not to be beguiled as she has been with fair words and the flatteries of a lying tongue. "But first," she said, "be sure of godliness, yea, as sure as it is possible for one to be in this

world." Before her death, thinking of the unanswered prayers she had offered for the conversion of her husband, Badman's wife had made this beautiful comment :—

Are my prayers lost, are they forgotten, are they thrown over the bar? No, they are hanged upon the horns of the golden altar, and I must have the benefit of them myself that moment that I shall enter into the Gate, in at which the righteous nation that keepeth truth shall enter. My prayers are not lost. My tears are yet in God's bottle. I would have had a crown and glory for my husband, and for those of my children that follow his steps, but so far as I can see yet, I must rest in the hope of having all myself.

Badman falls upon severe and poetic retribution, for after his wife's death, consorting with villainous and abominable women, at last "there was one too hard for him; for getting of him to her upon a time, and making of him sufficiently drunk, she was so cunning as to get a promise of marriage of him, and so held him to it, and forced him to marry her." Once married, she matched him with cursing and swearing, for she could give him oath for oath, and curse for curse.

Wiseman, like the reader of the story today, is curious to know about the end of Mr. Badman. Did he repent at the last? Did he show any signs of remorse for his wicked life? In the very article of death itself, what was his experience? Bunyan might have painted the death struggles of a wicked man, as so often they have been vividly painted. But his account of the passing of Badman is far more dramatic and powerful than any description of death struggles. Attentive asks, "Pray, how was he in his death? Was death strong upon him, or did he die with ease, quietly?" Wiseman answers, "As quietly as a lamb!" That brief reply opens for the reader the gates of future judgment and retribution, and lets him behold a great white throne and the books opened. It is a far more powerful reverberation of the mighty chord of future retribution than if Bunyan had described Badman as dying amid terrible convulsions and struggles. This brief answer, "As quietly as a lamb," is one of the high water marks of Bunyan's genius.

Of *The Holy War* Macaulay said that it would be the

greatest allegory in the English language if Bunyan had not written *Pilgrim's Progress*. *Grace Abounding* is the straightforward confession of Bunyan's religious experience. *Mr. Badman* shows him on an easy and familiar level of every day talk. *Pilgrim's Progress* reveals the poet and the dreamer in Bunyan, and is a voice from out of the depths of religious agony and ecstasy. But in *The Holy War* we have Bunyan in an altogether different rôle. Here he is speaking the grand language of princes and potentates, proclamations, conclaves and treaties. Like Milton in *Paradise Lost*, Bunyan in *The Holy War* takes us into the councils of the Almighty. He relates under this guise of Mansoul, the fall of the human race, and the efforts made by Emmanuel to retake it and redeem it. If he is happy in his names in *Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan is even more so in *The Holy War*. For example, the names of the captains in the army of Diabolus which marches to the siege of Mansoul—Captain Rage, Captain Fury, Captain Damnation, Captain Insatiable, Captain Brimstone, Captain Torment, Captain Sepulchre, and Captain Pasthope; or the names of the aldermen, Mr. Swearing, Mr. Scandalize and Mr. Atheism.

In the varying fortunes of Mansoul, first belonging to Emmanuel, then seduced and taken by Diabolus and his army, then rescued by Emmanuel, and again tempted, and again delivered, Bunyan deals with the great problem of the temptation, the fall and redemption of the human race. The criticism has been made upon *The Holy War* that he does not bring the thing to a triumphant consummation, for the allegory comes to a conclusion with the great address of Emmanuel, in which he pleads with the city to remember his love for it, to watch, to pray, to make war against his foes:—"Remember, therefore, O my Mansoul! that thou art beloved of me. As I have therefore taught thee to watch, to fight, to pray, and to make war against my foes, so now I command thee to believe that my love is constant to thee. O my Mansoul! how have I set my heart, my love upon thee! Watch.

Behold, I lay none other burden upon thee than what thou hast already. Hold fast till I come."

This is as far as Bunyan, or anyone else can go. Not yet do we see the end of the human drama. The morning cometh, but also the night. The sun arises, then come the clouds, and after the clouds, the sun again appears. In this world, we shall have tribulations. Bunyan's last note is also the last note of the divine revelation—"Hold fast till I come."

Bunyan is very happy in the introduction to all his works. Some of his most haunting melodies are struck in the opening words of *Pilgrim's Progress*. This is true also of *The Holy War* where he says:—"In my travels, as I walked through many regions and countries, it was my chance to happen into that famous continent of Universe. A very large and spacious country it is. It lieth between the two poles, and just amidst the four points of the heaven. It is a place well watered, and richly adorned with hills and valleys, bravely situated; and for the most part, (at least where I was,) very fruitful; also well peopled and a very sweet air." With such a noble beginning, worthy to take rank with Elizabethan prose at its best, Bunyan had a formidable task on his hands to maintain the high standard of this overture. But that he has succeeded, every reader will agree.

At the close of Bunyan's account of his imprisonment, he he writes:—"Many more of the dealings of God towards me I might relate, but these out of the spoils won in battle I have dedicated to maintain the house of God." Of all the spoils which Bunyan won in the battle of his imprisonment, the most precious, and today the most venerated, is *Pilgrim's Progress*. Much ink has been spilled in the debate as to when or where Bunyan wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*; whether in the County Jail or in the town lock-up; during the first imprisonment, the second imprisonment, or between the two. It makes no difference when or where he wrote it. The only important and obvious fact is that he dreamed the great dream after he himself had passed through his Slough of Despond and found his way out of darkness into the City of

Light. The best account of the origin of *Pilgrim's Progress* is found in "The Author's Apology." Here he says:—

When at the first I took my pen in hand,
Thus for to write, I did not understand
That I at all should make a little book
In such a mode; nay, I had undertook
To make another; which, when almost done,
Before I was aware, I this begun.

And thus it was: I writing of the way
And race of saints in this our gospel-day,
Fell suddenly into an allegory,
About their journey, and the way to glory.

The other book which he says was almost done when he fell into an allegory, was possibly *The Heavenly Footman*, based on I Corinthians ix. 24: "Run that ye may obtain," in which he likens the Christian's life to a race. It is quite possible that the development of that work led him naturally into the allegory and metaphor not of a race, but of a pilgrimage. This was probably during his first imprisonment. Then the partial sketch was perhaps laid aside and finished during his second imprisonment for six months, in the town lock-up, on the bridge over the river Ouse.

No world famous book ever cost its author so little and yet so much. He tells us his thoughts began to multiply like "sparks that from the coals of fire do fly." He had no particular plan in mind:—

I only thought to make
I knew not what; nor did I undertake
Thereby to please my neighbour; no, not I;
I did it my own self to gratify.

It was not a work to which he could devote his serious hours, but only his vacant seasons: —

Neither did I but vacant seasons spend
In this my scribble; nor did I intend
But to divert myself in doing this
From worser thoughts which make me do amiss.

When he had completed the allegory he submitted it to some of his friends to get their judgment as to whether or not it ought to be published:—

And some said, Let them live; some, Let them die:
 Some said, John, print it; others said, Not so:
 Some said, It might do good; others said, No.

Fortunately, Bunyan followed his own counsel and determined to send forth his little book and asked all its readers, they who would "be in a dream and yet not sleep," or who would "in a moment laugh and weep," who would read themselves, and yet read they knew not what, "to lay his book their head and heart together." He defends his use of metaphor and allegory from the Old Testament practise:—

Were not God's laws,
 His gospel laws, in olden times held forth
 By types, shadows, and metaphors? Yet loath
 Will any sober man be to find fault
 With them, lest he be found for to assault
 The highest wisdom.

Although he tells us he was writing merely to divert himself and in his vacant hours, yet he confesses in the same "Apology" that he was not unconscious of a great and lofty purpose in writing the book, for he says:—

This book it chalketh out before thine eyes
 The man that seeks the everlasting prize;
 It shows you whence he comes, whither he goes;
 What he leaves undone, also what he does;
 It also shows you how he runs and runs,
 Till he unto the gate of glory comes.

Pilgrim's Progress was published in 1678 and immediately met with an enthusiastic reception throughout Great Britain and her colonies. By 1685, ten editions had been issued. The engraver's art had aided in the distribution and popularity of the book. Those who read the allegory in their childhood will never forget the terror and delight with which they beheld Christian thrusting his sword into Apollyon as that black fiend spreads his wings in retreat, or the Pilgrim plunging through the Slough of Despond, walking the fiend-beset path in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, groaning in the prison of Giant Despair, or refreshed at the Palace Beautiful, or talking with the Shepherds in the Delectable Mountains. By the time he was ready to publish the second part of *Pil-*

grim's Progress Bunyan had an easy confidence in its success because of the great popularity of the first, for he says:—

My Pilgrim's book has travell'd sea and land,
 Yet could I never come to understand
 That it was slighted, or turn'd out of door
 By any kingdom, were they rich 'or poor.
 In France and Flanders, where men kill each other,
 My Pilgrim is esteem'd a friend, a brother.
 In Holland too, 'tis said, as I am told,
 My Pilgrim is with some worth more than gold.
 Highlanders and wild Irish can agree
 My Pilgrim should familiar with them be.
 'Tis in New England under such advance,
 Receives there so much loving countenance,
 As to be trimm'd, new clothed, and deck'd with gems,
 That it may show its features and its limbs,
 Yet more; so comely doth my Pilgrim walk,
 That of him thousands daily sing and talk.

Popular with religious people of the middle and lower classes, *Pilgrim's Progress* did not at first meet the favor of the upper classes. But soon the verdict of the masses was accepted by the educated minority; perhaps the only instance, says Macaulay, where the educated minority has come over to the opinion of the common people. The wide range and appeal of *Pilgrim's Progress* is demonstrated in a striking manner by the various efforts to imitate it or improve it. Calvinists more strict than Bunyan have endeavored to amend it to suit their taste; Roman Catholics have left out Giant Pope with his toothless gums and bone-strewn cavern, and have turned the book into a manual of devotion for Catholics; Baptists have tampered with it so as to make immersion stand out as a condition of salvation; and Sacramentarians have amended it so as to give a chief place to the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The catholicity of the book is proven by these very efforts to change it and alter it to suit the desires or prejudices of different communions and sects.

The writing of *Pilgrim's Progress* cost the author, upon his own testimony, almost nothing. Never did a great work flow more spontaneously and easily from an author's mind

and pen. Yet never did a great work cost its author more. It is a book born, not made; but born in sore travail and anguish of spirit. As Froude puts it:—

The allegory is the life of its author cast in an imaginative form. Every step in Christian's journey has first been trodden by Bunyan himself. Every pang of fear and shame, every spasm of despair, every breath of hope and consolation which is there described, is but a reflection as on a mirror from personal experience. It has spoken to the hearts of all later generations of Englishmen because it came from the heart, because it is the true record of the genuine emotions of the human soul, and to such a record the emotions of other men will respond as one stringed instrument vibrates responsively to another.

The second part of *Pilgrim's Progress* has been called by Froude a "feeble reverberation of the first, like all second parts." But this hardly does it justice. The reader of the second part is at a certain disadvantage because he has already finished the journey of Christian and his companion. Nor is it to be expected that the reader of the second part can feel again the thrill he felt at the combat between Christian and Apollyon in the Valley of Humiliation. Nevertheless in a very real sense the second part of *Pilgrim's Progress* is more than just a sequel; it is a true conclusion and climax. The first part ends in tragedy, a door to Hell hard by the gate of Heaven, and Ignorance cast into hell by that door. But the second part ends in glory, as Standfast and the other pilgrims go through the River and are received with trumpets, singers and players, horses and chariots, as they come up to the Beautiful Gate of the City.

One of the reasons why *Pilgrim's Progress* has made so wide an appeal to the hearts of men is that it is the story of a man of like passions with ourselves. The Christian life is not a mid-summer night's dream, nor an ecstasy of perfection, but a struggle with self and circumstance, a warfare with sin from which there is no discharge. It is significant to recall that most of the trials and troubles and dangers which befell the pilgrim happened to him after he had got through the Slough of Despond and after the burden had fallen from his shoulders at the cross. Had Bunyan told us of a man who was converted, and then never had a doubt or

fear, a stumble or a fall, his book would never have been heard of. But because he tells us of struggles, doubts, stumbings and fallings, we feel that this is the Pilgrim of our own hearts and our own lives, everywhere tracked by the shadow of our lower selves. We feel he is coming very near to us when we hear him say in *Grace Abounding*:—"I have sometimes seen more in a line of the Bible than I could well tell how to stand under, and yet at another time the whole Bible has been to me as dry as a stick, that I could not conceive the least of refreshment though I have looked it all over." Or again: "Of all the temptations that ever I met with in my life, to question the being of God, and truth of his Gospel is the worst, and the worst to be borne. When this temptation comes it takes away my girdle from me and removeth the foundation from under me."

If the first part of *Pilgrim's Progress* shows us a pilgrim assailed with temptations, ever struggling, desperately striving, sometimes deceived, tempted, and led astray, the second part of *Pilgrim's Progress* is of help and comfort because it tells us of a different type of disciple and pilgrim than Christian, that is, men who had different religious experiences, some strong, some weak, and yet who all contrived to get safe to the Celestial City:—

They softly went, but sure, and at the end
Found that the Lord of Pilgrims was their friend.

There is old Mr. Honest, for example, who comes from the town of Stupidity, which lieth about four degrees beyond the City of Destruction. No dread alarum, no terrible conviction of sin, has started Honest on his pilgrimage, but the Sun of Righteousness has warmed him even in his town so far off the sun, and therefore he has started on his journey. Then, in contrast with Great-Heart and Mr. Valiant-for-the-Truth, we have other types of pilgrims such as Mr. Feeble-Mind with his "whitely look," and his uncle, Mr. Fearing, who had "a Slough of Despond in his mind." Then there is Master Ready-to-Halt, "a man with crutches, but without fault," and Master Despondency, with Much-Afraid, his

daughter. Yet these, too, get across the river and pass through the gate into the Celestial City. This is of no little comfort, for we are not all Christians, Great-Hearts, or Valiants-for-the-Truth.

The high water mark of the first part of *Pilgrim's Progress* is the passage where Bunyan describes what the Pilgrims saw and heard in the country of Beulah, a passage which can be laid, without fear of suffering by comparison, along side of the finest specimens of English prose:—

Now I saw in my dream, that by this time the pilgrims were got over the Enchanted Ground, and entering into the country of Beulah, whose air was very sweet and pleasant; the way lying directly through it, they solaced themselves there for a season. Yea, here they heard continually the singing of birds, and saw every day the flowers appear in the earth, and heard the voice of the turtle in the land. In this country the sun shineth night and day; wherefore this was beyond the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and also out of the reach of Giant Despair; neither could they from this place so much as see Doubting Castle. Here they were within sight of the City they were going to; also here met them some of the inhabitants thereof; for in this land the Shining Ones commonly walked, because it was upon the borders of heaven.

In the second part of *Pilgrim's Progress* Bunyan reaches his greatest height, in a sense, the real climax of his whole work, when he comes to tell how Mr. Standfast received his summons and passed over the river. Mr. Honest, Valiant-for-the-Truth, Christiana, and the rest of them, one by one, had received their summons. At length the post brought a summons for Mr. Standfast, telling him that his time has come, "for his Master was not willing that he should be so far from him any longer." Having set things in order, Mr. Standfast goes down to the river:—

When Mr. Standfast had thus set things in order, and the time being come for him to haste him away, he, also, went down to the river. Now there was a great calm at that time in the river; wherefore Mr. Standfast, when he was about halfway in, stood awhile, and talked to his companions that had waited upon him thither. And he said, This river has been a terror to many; yea, the thoughts of it, also, have often frightened me; but now, me thinks, I stand easy; my foot is fixed upon that on which the feet of the priests that bare the ark of the covenant stood while Israel went over this Jordan. The waters indeed, are to the palate bitter, and to the stomach cold; yet the thoughts of what I am

going to, and of the convoy that waits for me on the other side, lie as a glowing coal at my heart. I see myself now at the end of my journey; my toilsome days are ended. I am going to see that head which was crowned with thorns, and that face which was spit upon for me. I have formerly lived by hearsay and faith; but now I go where I shall live by sight, and shall be with him in whose company I delight myself. I have loved to hear my Lord spoken of; and wherever I have seen the print of His shoe in the earth, there have I coveted to set my foot, too. His name has been to me a civet-box; yea, sweeter than all perfumes. His voice to me has been most sweet, and his countenance I have more desired than they that have most desired the light of the sun. His words I did use to gather for my food, and for antidotes against my faintings. He has held me, and hath kept me from mine iniquities; yea, my steps hath he strengthened in his way.

Outside of inspired literature, there is nowhere to be found a passage which sets forth in such beautiful language the love of a believing soul for Christ, and how Christ is precious unto them that believe. Here we have the stern seventeenth century Puritan, a lover and a troubadour of Jesus Christ.

The way to the Celestial City has grown much easier in our day than it was in Bunyan's day. Indeed the question may be asked, Is there a City of Destruction and is there a City of Life? More and more the Christian pulpit turns away from an effort to answer the one great question of religion—"What must I do to be saved?" "Conviction of sin," writes Froude, "has become a phrase shallow and ineffective, even in those who use it most sincerely. Yet moral evil is still the cause of nine-tenths of human misery and it is not easy to measure the value of a man who could prolong among his fellow creatures the sense of the deadly nature of it even in the form of a decomposing theology." In the apparently decomposing theology of Protestant Christianity, it becomes more and more difficult to prolong a sense of sin among mankind. Yet a religion or a form of Christianity which cannot or dare not, declare the fact of sin, nor cares to busy itself with the problem of how men shall be delivered from the stain and burden of their sins, has no real business in the world because it has nothing to say to the world.

The present day drift away from evangelical Christianity, and the gradual subsidence of such promontories of truth as

conviction of sin, regeneration, atonement and judgment to come, with its reward and its punishment—all this was forecast by Hawthorne in his tremendous satire, *The Celestial Railroad*, perhaps the greatest of all the commentaries on *Pilgrim's Progress*. In his dream the new pilgrim visited that region of the earth in which lies the famous City of Destruction. Having heard that a railroad had recently been established between this town and the Celestial City, he resolved to gratify a liberal curiosity by making a trip thither. Accordingly, he set out on a coach to drive to the station house. In his company was one, Mr. Smooth-it-Away, who was a director and large stockholder of the railroad. The Slough of Despond they crossed by a convenient bridge of elegant construction, the foundations for which had been secured by throwing into the Slough editions of books of morality, volumes of French philosophy and German rationalism, tracts, sermons and essays of modern clergymen, extracts from quaint old Confucius and Hindu sages, together with a few ingenuous commentaries on texts of Scripture—all of which by some scientific process had been converted into a mass like granite. They alighted at the station house which had been erected on the site of the little Wicket Gate, which stood across the highway and by its inconvenient narrowness was a great obstruction to the traveler of liberal mind and expansive stomach. A large number of passengers were at the station house awaiting the departure of the train. It would have done Bunyan's heart good to see the change in attitude of all those undertaking the journey. Instead of a lonely and ragged man with a huge burden on his back, with the whole city hooting after him, the first gentlemen and the most respectable citizens in the neighborhood were setting out on the pilgrimage as if it were a summer tour. Among these travelers there was much pleasant conversation about the news of the day, topics of business and politics, the lighter matters of amusement, while religion, undoubtedly the main thing at heart, was drawn tastefully into the background. Even an

infidel would have heard little or nothing to have shocked his sensibilities.

The Pilgrim was amazed to discover that the engineer was Christian's old enemy, Apollyon, with whom he had fought so fierce a battle in the Valley of Humiliation. As the train rattled merrily on, covering a greater distance in ten minutes than Christian trudged over in a day, the travellers laughed to observe two dusty travellers in the old pilgrim's guise, with cockle shell and staff, their mystic rolls of parchment in their hands, and their intolerable burdens on their backs. As they were rushing by the place where Christian's burden fell from his shoulders at the sight of the Cross, Mr. Smooth-it-Away, Mr. Live-for-the-World, Mr. Hide-Sin-in-the-Heart, Mr. Scaly-Conscience, and a lot of gentlemen from the town of Shun-Repentance began to decant upon the inestimable advantages resulting from the safety of their baggage. At the Hill Difficulty a tunnel had been constructed through the heart of the rocky mountain, and the materials taken from the heart of the hill had been employed in filling up the Valley of Humiliation, thus obviating the necessity of descending into that disagreeable and unwholesome hollow. When the train shot into the Valley of the Shadow, the pilgrim had some palpitations of heart at the headlong rush over the causeway which had been constructed. But the Dark Valley had been illuminated with inflammable gas, and they contrived to get through without a mishap. Here and there, the Pilgrim thought he saw in the fiercely gleaming, gas lamps grim faces that bore the aspect and expression of individual sins or evil passions, but as the light of natural day began to struggle with the glow of the lanterns, these vain imaginations lost their vividness, and finally vanished with the first ray of sunshine that greeted their escape from the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

At the end of the Valley was the Cavern, where as Bunyan related, dwelt the two cruel giants, Pope and Pagan, who had strewn the ground about their den with the bones of slaughtered pilgrims. These vile old troglodytes were no longer

there, but into their deserted cave another terrible giant had thrust himself, making it his business to seize upon all the travellers and fatten them for his table with plentiful meals of moonshine, raw potatoes and sawdust. This giant was called Transcendentalist, but as to his form, his features, his substance and his nature generally, it was his chief peculiarity that neither he nor himself nor anybody for him had ever been able to describe him.

When the train steamed into the ancient City of Vanity Fair, he was surprised to discover that the pilgrims were quite popular at the Fair and spent no little time there, for almost anything could be purchased for a bit of script called Conscience. Almost every street had its church, and among the names of the preachers were the Rev. Shallow-Deep, the Rev. Stumble-at-Truth, the Rev. Mr. This-to-Day, who expects shortly to resign his pulpit to the Rev. That-Tomorrow, together with the Rev. Mr. Bewilderment, the Rev. Mr. Clog-the-Spirit, and last and greatest, the Rev. Dr. Wind-of-Doctrine. Observing the buying and selling, the pilgrim thought he saw some foolish bargains. A young man who laid out a considerable portion of his fortune in the purchase of diseases, finally sold all the rest for a lot of repentance and a suit of rags; and a very pretty girl who bartered a heart as clear as crystal for another jewel of the same kind, but so worn and defaced as to be utterly worthless.

Resuming his journey, the Pilgrim came up to the Castle of Giant Despair, but since his death, chartered by Mr. Flimsy-Safe, who there kept an excellent house of entertainment. After an hour's nap, the Pilgrim awoke as the train crossed the border of the pleasant land of Beulah. Soon the engine by its screams announced the close vicinity of the final station house. In sounding this, the closing, final blast on the siren, Apollyon outdid himself and created an infernal uproar, which, besides disturbing the peaceful inhabitants of Beulah, must have sent its discord even through the Celestial Gate. At length they drew up alongside of the ferry-boat which lay in the river. The Pilgrim hurried aboard, but when

he turned to look back to the shore he was amazed to discern Mr. Smooth-it-Away waving his hand in token of farewell. He cried out to him if he was not going over to the Celestial City. "Oh, no," answered Mr. Smooth-it-Away, "I have come thus far only for the sake of your pleasant company. Goodbye, we shall meet again." The Pilgrim then rushed to the side of the boat, intending to fling himself on shore, but the wheels as they began their revolution threw a dash of spray over him so cold, "so deadly cold with the chill that will never leave those waters, until Death be drowned in his own river—that, with a shiver and a heart-quake, I awoke. Thank Heaven it was a Dream!"

The bell tower of the Abbey Church at Elstow stands a little distance apart from the church itself. The aged sexton told me if I ascended to the top of the tower I would find the bell John Bunyan used to ring on the northwest corner. Slowly I made my way up the winding stairway, the ancient stone steps well worn with the tread of more than three centuries of climbers. At length, brushing aside the cobwebs, and disturbing the retreat of bats and birds and pigeons, I emerged upon the topmost landing. Leaning over the parapet, I could see far beneath me the churchyard with its venerable flat tombs, the green on which Bunyan played one o' cat, the battered and scarred Moot Hall, Elstow with its brown thatched roofs, the river Ouse, and beyond it, Bedford. Looking out towards the north and west, I saw not far from the rectory, a swamp, which Bunyan made use of as the Slough of Despond; and away in the distance, hard by a woodland meadow, a steep hill, the Hill Difficulty; and far off on the horizon, a beautiful range of hills, the Delectable Mountains.

Here then, was what the natural eye of Bunyan saw before he painted for mankind the things invisible. Remembering what the sexton had told me about Bunyan's bell, I pulled the iron lever, and as the hammer fell, the tower shook with the mighty reverberation. But loosed from the confining

tower, the music of the great bell went floating out over the ivy-covered graves of the dead, over the sleeping hamlet of Elstow, across the Slough of Despond, on still, beyond the fields, to the Hill Difficulty, and far off into the distance, until the Delectable Mountains seemed to echo back the sweet melody.

Almost three hundred years have passed since Bunyan used to ring that bell. But the flight of years has not dimmed nor impaired its tone. It is just as deep and true and sweet today as when Bunyan used to ring it. The generation Bunyan knew, with many a generation after it, has passed away into dim silence since "he laid himself down in that place to sleep" and dreamed his dream. But human nature is still the same. Still man will wonder about a world not seen, and a life which is more than this life. Still there is no room for body and soul and sin. Still Sloughs of Despond will enmire, Hills of Difficulty confront, Valleys of the Shadow of Death affright, and Giants of Despair cast into their prison pilgrims who in this world set out to find the Everlasting World. Still is the way narrow and strait the gate that leadeth unto eternal life. Yet the pilgrim who undertakes the journey will find that there are still Evangelists and Interpreters to help him on his way, and Shepherds, too, to point out for him the distant glories of Emmanuel's Land. And as he travels toward that country, he will not go solitary and unattended, but will have the company of other pilgrims. The bell which Bunyan struck three centuries ago, high up in the tower of his allegory, still vibrates with its ancient melody, ever haunting the imagination of mankind, its tones as deep and sweet and true as ever, for they echo the deep, eternal truths of sin, atonement, redemption, regeneration, judgment to come, and life everlasting.

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CLARENCE E. MACARTNEY.

NOTES AND NOTICES

THE SIGN OF THE PROPHET JONAH AND ITS MODERN CONFIRMATION

The subject discussed a year ago under the above title in this REVIEW is of such world-wide interest, and the views developed so reactionary from widely accepted opinion, that it was obviously calculated to rouse controversy and draw out whatever there might be of conflicting or corroborating evidence. This it has done.

The denial, in some quarters, of the story of James Bartley, a denial attributed to the captain's wife, is noteworthy. It must be remembered, however, that denial is not the same as disproof, especially a denial which apparently amounted to no more than the assertion that she "had never heard of the story." Here then is a conflict of evidence to be weighed. On the one hand an isolated negative, based on a plea of individual ignorance; on the other the affirmation of "captain and sailors" of the vessel in which the episode occurred, elaborately investigated by M. de Parville, accepted in the *Journal des Debats*, and earlier by the Abbé Moine in the scientific journal *Kosmos*; a statement vivid in life-like details, including even the peristaltic action of the monster's throat, such as it would seem to be beyond human ingenuity to invent—a preponderating weight of evidence in the affirmative, which can hardly be compensated for except by some strong desire to disbelieve.

There is one item in James Bartley's experience which is of special importance, as bearing on the possibility of *survival* for the given number of hours. Although there is no very clear evidence of the condition of the atmosphere in a whale's belly it seems probable that there would be a deficiency of the amount of oxygen necessary to sustain human life. It is true that the whale, being a warm-blooded animal and therefore itself dependent on such supplies, is compelled to come to the surface every twenty minutes to breathe; but it is not clear how this could carry supplies to assist Bartley in breathing. But did he breathe? Let the account, as quoted in the original article, speak for itself: "Inside [the stomach of the whale] was found the missing sailor doubled up and *unconscious*. He was laid on the deck and treated to a bath of seawater, which soon revived

him." Not much oxygen needed for a man "doubled up and unconscious"! At first he says "he could easily breathe"; but "losing his senses through fright" he speedily lapsed into what appears, according to the account, to have been a state of suspended animation.

Thus far the physiological aspect in the case of the sperm whale (*Cachalot*). This has been hitherto assumed as identical with Jonah's "great fish," because it alone has a throat amply large enough to swallow him. Obviously also, if the Bartley account is accepted it carries with it the power of survival. This, however, is not the only possible assumption. The right whale (*Mysticetus*) was supposed to be excluded because of the acknowledged minuteness of its oesophagus. But this objection has been discounted by the late Mr. E. J. Sewell in a learned paper read before the Victoria Institute, entitled, "The Historical Value of the Book of Jonah."¹ After an elaborate consideration of the book from the linguistic and historical points of view (which may be commended to the earnest consideration of the student) he faces the physiological difficulty; and for the very reason of the minuteness of its throat, he assumes that the "great fish" was the right whale, since in that case Jonah, being too large to be literally "swallowed" would perforce be retained in the gigantic mouth, and so would not fail of his share of the regular, periodical supplies of oxygen. To quote in brief outline his exact idea: "Jonah was therefore imprisoned in the animal's mouth."² "While the whale moved with its jaws open [its regular way of swimming on or near the surface to obtain food] the seawater rushed in over Jonah and then out again through the whalebone screen: but at frequent intervals the whale closed its great overlapping lips, excluding the water and outer air, and 'sounded': i.e. settled down even to the bottom of the sea." "It can only dive in this way because of the reservoir of air in its gigantic mouth." "During these periods Jonah was in perfect darkness, but was warm and dry," with a plentiful supply of oxygen to preserve life. When the whale rose to the surface he had fresh air and light. Mr. Sewell claimed "a reason-

¹ Session of January 21, 1924. Copies can be obtained at small cost from the Victoria Institute, Central Hall, Westminster, London.

² His estimate of the dimensions (p. 25) is 21 ft. x 8 ft. x 10 ft.—1680 cu. ft., a very fair sized room.

able latitude" in regard to the words, "a great fish to swallow" Jonah; and he argued that it would be hypercritical to refuse to accept the ordinary word *καταπιεῖν*, or its Hebrew equivalent, as covering the exceptional case of the more limited swallowing capacity of the *Mysticetus*.

Here then are two suppositions sufficiently diverse to cover the physiological condition of all such great fish. And in either case it becomes evident that, however strange an event, the experiences of Jonah do not travel beyond the possibilities of the situation in the domain of natural law.

It is necessary, however, at the same time to insist once again upon the distinction postulated in the earlier article, that this by no means negatives the idea of divine interposition, which while on the one hand it may transcend the laws of nature may, on the other hand, as in the present case, work its wonders through the use of existing laws, which are beyond the range of human knowledge, or, if known, are beyond human power to bring into play. So that the more extraordinary and superhuman are the events recorded the stronger is the emphasis laid on that divine interposition which is so clearly predicated in the Bible record of the Book of Jonah.

Nor is this all. The postulate of divine guidance and control is necessary to the full understanding of our Saviour's teaching when he uses Jonah as His prototype. The "three days" period which, with solemn reiteration He had given to the world along with the prophecy of His Death and Resurrection, had become recognized by adversary and adherent alike as the central prophetic mystery of His claim to Messiahship: central point of bewilderment for His all but despairing followers after His death, central theme of mockery for His foes in the hour of its apparent failure.³ No wonder they made so much of it. He had given it them as His chosen test in answer to their demand for a "sign," a guarantee of His divine mission: "What doest Thou for a sign that we may see and believe Thee? What workest Thou?" But the vital work and the sign or guarantee of it lay at the moment in the future. It was Resurrection that was to save them. It was the power of God triumphing over death physical and death spiritual. His followers would be able to use that sign, and prove His saving power by witnessing to His resurrection

³ Luke xxiv. 21, Matt. xxviii. 40.

again and again.⁴ But for the present the only sign was that of His prototype, the prophet sent by His Father to preach repentance to the people of distant Nineveh. It was his marvelous deliverance which made Jonah a sign to them. When they asked him "What sign shewest thou?" he had his guarantee ready in the accomplished fact; for he could tell them how he had been like one dead and buried, and divine interposition had marvelously brought him to life again, convincing thereby his own rebellious heart of God's purpose, and giving him in the story of this his superhuman deliverance the sure guarantee to the people of the truth of God's message and of him His messenger.

So it was always. When the people came thirsting to Christ to draw water out of the wells of salvation, always He plumbed depths lower than they sought: always He taught them deeper, and more fundamental truths. Even to these, though they were evil and adulterous He would give that in which by faithful study they could have found the answer they sought.

Who that reads His Spirit can figure Him talking to them of such vital matters like an ignorant peasant man in terms of some age-long myth of folklore, whose fabulous grotesqueness He had taken no care to verify; or setting out to build one of the central pillars of His world-wide salvation on so insecure a foundation, and to daub it with such untempered mortar?

Cheltenham, England.

AMBROSE J. WILSON.

⁴ See Acts of Apostles *passim*.

REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY

An Outline Introduction to the History of Religions. By THEODORE H. ROBINSON, M.A., D.D., Lecturer in Semitic Languages, University College, Cardiff. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York. 1926. Pp. x, 244. Price \$2.00.

This book has been well received by the reviewers, and for many reasons deservedly so. The author is widely read in his subject; his style is clear and simple; the print and format are in accord with the high standards of the press from which it comes.

Dr. Robinson's standpoint is given in the preface. Man is, as it were, confined in a vast prison, in the walls of which are windows that afford a view of the outside world sufficient for the formation of opinion, but not for knowledge of the truth. Some of these windows symbolize the world religions through which during 14,000 years men have been trying to see God. But no one has as yet arrived at the truth about God, and no one can be sure what the final supposition as to God will be or what form the world's final religion will take. With these assumptions the author in the introductory chapter attempts to establish a working definition of religion, and in the following chapters discusses "Proto-Religion," Animism, Polytheism, the Philosophical Religions (Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism), Monotheism (Zoroastrianism and Israel), Islam, and finally Christianity.

The outstanding problems of all books of this sort are, *What is religion?* and *What is Christianity?* Dr. Robinson exhibits well the difficulties of those who attempt a solution that will not be out of harmony with the so-called approved methods of modern critical scholarship.

What is religion? The author's discussion shows that he is confronted by the same perplexity that baffled Macbeth when he made his famous remarks on men and dogs, viz. whether it is valid to apply either name to all that "have a station in the file." Shall we attempt, in other words, to form our concept from popular opinion, or from an analytic study of the entity itself? If for example the entomologist should accept as proper material for a study of insects everything which in public opinion is named *bug* (in the American meaning of the word), he would make a sorry mess of his science. When similarly the writer on religion accepts as religion everything that is popularly so-called, he is compelled to find common features in movements which really to a more discriminating view have nothing in common. No wonder that religion is a hard word to define for those who so treat it. The solution is to define religion frankly in terms of conscious relationship to God, and to deny the name to everything that does not embody such relationship. But this is precisely what modern atheism, pantheism, and agnosticism are unwilling

to do—which in fact they cannot consistently do—with the result that religion is confused with all sorts of humanitarian relationships, and the definition must be made so broad that it becomes practically worthless.

What is Christianity? Dr. Robinson writes with the detachment of an inhabitant of Mars visiting the earth and coming into contact with Christianity for the first time. He accepts as Christian whatever calls itself such. He does not pause to ascertain whether it has any right to the name, and consequently he puts down under a series of arbitrarily arranged captions, Revelation, Conversion, Worship, Sacraments, Love, Immortality, Sin, Atonement, etc., the variant and contradictory beliefs, surmises, suggestions or whatever you wish to call them, of the claimants of the label Christian. The result is not an exposition of what is Christian, but of what ignorantly asks to be called such. But here again no other resource is open to "approved modern critical scholarship." It has dispelled into air all that Christ and His Apostles taught. It has left merely a series of uncertainties and probabilities of which some take some and others take others, not to be accepted as firm beliefs but as loosely held working assumptions. What else can it do therefore in this present age of free choices than to make of a description of Christianity a classified catalogue of contradictions? But to our mind such treatment of the religion called by the name of Christ is untrue and really impossible. We agree that science must be dispassionate in the sense that the disturbing effects of emotion must not deflect the calm conclusions of reason, but if the subject we consider demands a norm and a consequent separation into this and that in accord with the norm, it is irrational and unscientific not to do so. To our mind the science of religions is a normative and not merely an explicative discipline, and all studies that do not recognize this fact fail of their end. If this is true concerning religion in general, it is far more true concerning Christianity.

Lincoln University, Pa.

GEORGE JOHNSON.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

Our Fathers Faith and Ours: A Comparison between Protestantism and Romanism. By DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D., Recently Professor of Church History in the Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh; now Lecturer on American Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. 8vo, pp. ix, 680; \$4.50.

A mere glance at this volume suggests its timeliness. It deals with many of those questions pertaining to the Roman Catholic Church which are just now—we refer to the period of our presidential campaign—receiving special consideration on the part of thoughtful citizens. And in view of the charges of bigotry, intolerance, and fanaticism that are being hurled at so many speakers and writers whose only offence seems to be their insistence on the important distinction between Catholi-

cism as a body of religious beliefs and Romanism as a politico-ecclesiastical organization under the control of an absolute monarch, we cannot but admire the courage of the author in publishing a book of this kind at this particular time. But what impresses us most, as we lay down his work, is the breadth and vigor of his treatment of the theme, his wide and detailed acquaintance with the literature of the subject, his skilful analysis and lucid presentation of the vast and varied material, his mastery of the theological principles and the practical issues at stake, his judicial temper, his substantial fairness, and the general attractiveness of his style.

The object of the book, as given in the Preface, is "to state the causes which led to the division of Western Christendom in the sixteenth century and the distinctive differences of its two parts, to trace these differences back to their historical beginnings, and follow them through their development in the Middle Ages and in modern times, and to test them in the light of Scripture, history and reason." The realization of these several aims is not undertaken, as this statement might perhaps lead one to suppose, consecutively in the three main "Parts" into which the treatise is divided, but rather by combining, within the limits of each "Part," accounts of origins, narratives of development, and testing processes, as the varying nature of the historic data or convenience in presentation may have suggested. The method has not prevented overlapping and repetitions, but on the other hand it has secured a pleasant amount of variety both as to the way in which the distinctive differences between Protestantism and Romanism are set before the reader and as to the number and thoroughness of the tests which he is invited to apply to the conclusions presented.

Part I, called "Historical," offers a somewhat heterogeneous array of material in eight chapters (*inter alia*: the need of a Reformation in the sixteenth century; the Reformation defined; Martin Luther, the leader of the Reformation; Luther's personality the alleged discredit of Protestantism; other hostile explanations of the Reformation; the prescriptive assumptions of Romanism); all of which serves as a kind of general introduction to the more detailed consideration, in the second and third "Parts," of the differences between the two communions. Part II, dealing in nineteen chapters with the "Doctrinal and Sacramental" differences, is much the largest section of the treatise. As all will surmise who are acquainted with the author's earlier publications in this field, he here reveals not only a thorough familiarity with the theological questions involved in the revolt of the Evangelicals against Rome, but also a special competence in weighing the merits of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic solutions of the problems. The points at issue, as he sums them up, are mainly the following (p. 140): "1) the source of religious authority, or whether the Scriptures are the sufficient guide book of Christian doctrine and precept; 2) the church, or what the church is and what its functions are; 3) the papacy, or whether the pope is, by the appointment of Christ, the head of the visible Christian church; 4) the ministry, or whether it is or is not an order invested with sacer-

dotal power; 5) the sacraments, their number and their virtue; 6) purgatory, and whether such a realm exists; 7) Mary, and whether she is to be worshipped and was immaculately conceived; 8) saints and relics, and whether worship and veneration are to be paid to them; 9) the place of good works in the scheme of grace." In Part III, dealing with the "Social and Moral" differences between these two halves of Western Christendom, we have informing and satisfying discussions pertaining to a series of problems which have vexed church leaders from the beginning of the Christian era and which in modern times have led to some of the most pronounced disagreements between Protestants and Roman Catholics: religious freedom, the relations of church and state to each other, education, marriage, clerical immunities, casuistry, and the regulative principles of public worship. The discussion closes with a chapter in which "the attractions" of each system are enumerated and briefly evaluated: those credited to Romanism being antiquity, visible authority, unity, and symbolism in worship; while those advanced in favor of Protestantism are love of truth, the sovereign rights of the individual, liberty of conscience, civil and social progress, the priestly standing of the laity, and the simplicity of worship.

This survey of the contents of the volume before us sufficiently discloses the wide range of the topics treated and the nature of the comparative method used in the discussion. And on the whole, as we have already intimated, the author has, in our judgment, performed his task with exemplary fidelity to the sources and with a commendable fairness. That his conclusions will prove acceptable to Roman Catholics is not to be expected; but to our mind no serious fault can be found with his handling of the evidence itself, or with his tone and temper when he feels constrained to make a frankly polemic use of some of his findings. Generous as he is in recognizing the agreements between these two branches of Christendom, and the notable service rendered by the medieval Church, he nevertheless writes as a loyal son and grateful beneficiary of the Reformed faith. Comparisons are proverbially odious, and in this highly controversial field in which the author institutes his "Comparison," he may now and again—we are convinced that the cases are quite rare—have erred in pointing a contrast too sharply. We might cite as an instance the statement (p. 524): "The burnings which had occurred during the reign of Mary Tudor were stopped when Elizabeth ascended the throne, 1558, although the Puritans and Roman Catholics were denied legal standing"; where the concessive clause, true so far as it goes, falls considerably short of the historic reality. Another somewhat misleading reference is that (p. 424) in which he fails to do justice to Calvin's views in regard to the salvation of unbaptized infants. A captious reader might mark for censure a few slips of this sort. He might also call attention to some formal defects and blemishes. Apart from typographical errors, which are rather more numerous than one would expect to find in a volume that embodies so many of the excellencies of the best book-making of today, there are infelicities of expression, faulty punctuations, and careless methods of referring to authori-

ties. One wonders, for example, why the sign of the possessive case should be dropped in the title, "Our Fathers Faith and Ours." The omission of the brackets in the reference to Professor Smith (p. 95) makes a rather ludicrous impression; and unfortunately the very next page has a similarly baffling sentence: "To the same intent cardinals added their appeals to the prince Smith, I, 344." We shall give just one more illustration of carelessness (p. 408): "If this privilege be wholly denied, persons may be led to violate other sacred laws such as fornication or innocent and worthy parties be condemned to a prolonged life full of unmerited misery."

But we prefer, in bringing this notice to an end, to close in the strain with which we began. This comprehensive and scholarly treatment of the issues in debate between Protestantism and Romanism is a timely volume, giving in clear outline and in attractive form a mass of historical information that is probably nowhere else so readily to be obtained from books in English, and that every American citizen would do well to make his own,—especially when he is told that it is a mark of bigotry to make a distinction between Catholicism as a religion and Roman Catholicism as a political institution.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

The See of Peter. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL, PH.D., LL.D., Professor of History in Columbia University, and LOUISE ROPES LOOMIS, PH.D., Professor of History in Wells College. [Records of Civilization.] New York: Columbia University Press. 1927. Pp. xxvi, 737. \$10.00.

This erudite volume, the joint work of Professor Shotwell, the editor of *Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies*, and Professor Loomis, who had already contributed a translation, with introduction, of "The Book of the Popes (*Liber Pontificalis*)" to this notable series of publications, is a valuable presentation of the early sources, biblical, patristic, and apocryphal, that throw light on the Roman Catholic doctrine of Peter's primacy and his institution of the Roman see. The collection of excerpts is much more extensive and complete than that in Mirbt's *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*, and the translation of the original texts into English adds greatly to the usefulness of the book as a work of reference on this important subject. But the volume is much more than an imposing array of well-arranged citations. The many bibliographies that give the special literature on the various phases of the rather intricate historic process here traced with exhaustive fulness; the elaborate editorial annotations on the cardinal passages in the evidence; the thorough comprehension and the scholarly elucidations of the essential features in the development of the papal traditions make this work an authoritative history of early Christianity on its institutional side. The student of primitive ecclesiology will find here a richly documented presentation of facts, together with a large body of illuminating historical inferences, discriminating judgments, and occasional surmises of a highly suggestive character. And considering the anthological nature of most of the material in this volume, one cannot but admire the skill

with which these often fragmentary elements are classified, and the pleasing literary form given to the exposition as a whole.

The material is divided into two "Books." The first deals with "The Petrine Tradition,"—the triple claim "that Peter was appointed by Christ to be his chief representative and successor and the head of his Church"; "that Peter went to Rome and founded the bishopric there"; and "that his successors succeeded to his prerogatives and to all the authority implied thereby." The evidence here is investigated along three lines: New Testament texts, the statements of the Fathers from Clement of Rome to Jerome and Prudentius, and the apocryphal tradition (particularly the legends associating Peter and Simon Magus—a comprehensive study beginning with Suetonius and extending to Petrarch). The second Book deals with "The Rise of the See," the citations here also being arranged chronologically in three parts: the bishopric of the Roman Apostolic Church (Clement to Victor); the claim to the power of Peter (Tertullian to Eusebius); and the supreme bishopric of the universal Church (the popes from Miltiades to Damasus), this last section naturally offering the most voluminous testimony.

We have read this work with much interest and profit, and with the deepening conviction that only specialists in this field will venture to question the trustworthiness and accuracy of these learned editors. As for ourselves, we shall only venture to express the opinion that the statements in regard to the prestige of the Roman see—great as it was from the first, and immense as it came to be at the end of the period here surveyed—are now and then somewhat exaggerated. This appears to us to be the case, for example, in the account of Victor's behavior in connection with the Easter controversy. As a matter of fact, it was not simply the Roman Church, but most of the others as well, alike in the East and in the West, that were arrayed against the Quartadecimanians of Asia Minor. To say that Irenaeus "does not challenge Victor's right to insist upon conformity to Roman usage" (p. 222), is to mention an indisputable truth, but at the same time to convey a rather faulty impression of the situation as a whole; for not only Eastern bishops, but even Irenaeus, though they favored the Roman practice in regard to Easter, reproved Victor for his arrogant excommunication of the Asia Minor offenders. Similar strictures may with propriety be made upon a few other judgments of this kind, but we content ourselves with this general remark, lest by calling attention to such flecks we give them an unmerited prominence in this brief notice of a most scholarly and valuable book.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

Life, Character and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam Derived from a Study of His Works and Correspondence. By JOHN JOSEPH MANGAN, A.M., M.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1927. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xii, 404, 427. \$10.

While no general Life of Erasmus has been published in Germany since 1828, the French and English have produced several, the last this elaborate, closely printed (with none too large type), thorough study

rather of his writings than his life, with many admirable translations, written by a scholarly Roman Catholic physician of Lynn, Mass., ardently devoted to his Church, and with the deliberate intention to defend that Church wherever possible from the open-eyed and too frank criticism of a son whom she never excommunicated. On account of the plethora of materials offered to a reviewer it will be necessary to confine our attention to the second volume.¹

The "material depths" into which Erasmus fell in *Praise of Folly* and *Colloquies* are exaggerated (p. 7), nor did he "pave the way" for Rabelais' "filthiness," who stood on his own feet and needed no prodding. It is also not true that these two books were of "doubtful morality and execrable taste" (p. 267) according to the standards of that age. Drummond was well within his rights in his remark (p. 10) on the ignorance of monks and clergy, and the instances of learned monks does not prove that there were not also those who did not know that there was a Hebrew and Greek original to the Vulgate. While abstinence and sacrifice deserve all the praise the author gives (p. 12), we have never heard that the eminent prelates in Rome who "loved delicate food and purple raiment" lost caste. The author is in error (p. 29) in regard to the Three Heavenly Witnesses passage (1 Jno. v. 7). Luther rejected it in the first edition of his translation, and the Revised Version (both English and American) also threw it out. What passage in Paul is referred to on p. 80? Note 46, p. 105, needs verification. It is a mistake to say that "Luther's soul had been perverted by the cynicism and lack of sincerity of Erasmus" (p. 152). His development had not been influenced in any essential regard by Erasmus. It is almost comically strange that the author—in the matter of Erasmus's famous remark about the pope's crown and the monks' bellies—should think (p. 158) that so manifold and deep-flowing a movement as the Reformation could have been turned aside by a chance "epigram" of Erasmus. Nor were the peasant uprising, "torrents of blood," etc., the "consequences" of the Reformation, though it was the occasion of course of persecution and other evils.

Erasmus is quoted (p. 160) as saying that Luther "inveighs against all the universities, and against philosophy." Luther believed in universities, in a university trained clergy, and in philosophy in its proper sphere. (See this side of Luther developed in *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 2d series, vol. viii, 147 ff.) Equally erroneous is what they told the Humanist, that Luther teaches that "all sorts of confessions are to be rejected as pernicious" (p. 164), as he rejected only compulsory auricular confession. It is not true that the "least check sent Luther into a fury" (p. 206). A large part of his experiences was receiving checks, but which one made him furious? His remark to Spalatin quoted on the same page was only a half-joking extravagance, another way of saying that truth is more important than life. (Note p.

¹ For the first volume see *Methodist Review* (N.Y.), Jan. 1928, 148 ff., and for the author's severe handling of Luther see this REVIEW, April 1928, 248 ff.

252 needs enlargement, as previously no page is given.) As for the curse upon Erasmus (p. 255) it must be remembered that Luther's *Table Talk* is at second or third hand, and in any case not like the conscientious accuracy of Boswell's reports of Johnson, and unless in itself reasonable and likely, or buttressed by Luther's own writings, the *Talk* cannot be relied on. No one knows how much was added by the copyist. The ablest and best of the companions even in their first copies were not proof against failures in hearing and in misunderstanding. (See Böhmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 3 Aufl. 100 ff.) On the whole they reproduced their master's ideas correctly, but for an unfavorable judgment courts of law would halt hearsay reports.

As to the Council of Trent it had not yet convened and Erasmus was not held by its theology (p. 262), though it is true that he was somewhat free even with doctrines passed by Councils. Our author overstresses if he does not misconceive (latter probable) the letter or dedication on pp. 345-7 as recantation. Erasmus always said that he went only against unworthy monks, that he did not attack monasticism in itself, and what he says in this letter is only a description of an ideal state. He had and kept an unconquerable aversion to the monastic life for himself, and always detested its regulations and the immoral lives of many monks. The true monk, he says, is he who can live a pious life anywhere. When Erasmus speaks of those who immolate themselves for the salvation of the people (p. 349), he is echoing Col. i. 24, with no intention of teaching that Christ's redemption is insufficient. "The savage and bloody proceedings of the Anabaptists" are spoken of (p. 354) as though such ways were characteristic, while most of the groups thus designated were perfectly innocent. As our hero had been entirely cleared of any stigma of illegitimate birth as hindrance to advancement (see Chap. IV), it is not likely that his birth had anything to do with his declining the cardinalate (p. 364). It was offered at the very end of his life, and Erasmus gave his illness and age as reasons why he must decline it. The author misunderstands apparent praise of austerities in Erasmus's book on the preacher (pp. 368-9). He does not praise them, but refers to them as showing those who ought to—but do not—desire the office of preacher, "than which there is nothing more pleasing to Christ," thus placing it far above these arbitrarily inflicted hardships.

Our author revives the badly attested story (against the unanimous tradition of the time that he died without religious attendance) that he was waited upon at last by a priest, in whose arms he lay dying repeating, O Mater Dei, memento mei (p. 381). It seems this legend came out first in a book in Dutch published in Malines in 1790, and was revived by Monsignor de Ram in an article for the Brussels Academy in 1842. Dr. Mangan is unnecessarily credulous here. "Facts preserved to us" by someone writing in 1790 for what happened in 1536 are valueless unless we know the intermediate steps, and with them we are not favored. In turning to a scholarly Catholic authority we read: Erasmus "died, resigned to the divine will, on the night of the 11th-12th July 1536, with Christian patience and his last words were: O Jesu, Misericordia!

Domine, libera me! Domine, fac finem! Domine, miserere mei! Whether he desired the assistance of a Catholic priest, or not, and under what circumstances it happened that he died without spiritual help and without receiving the holy sacrament, we cannot say with certainty, as the accounts of his death are brief" (Streber and Seback in *Kirchenlexicon*, 2 Aufl. vol. 4 (1886), 742). As to his will, Scriverius wrote in 1642. What evidence did he give of its genuineness? Luther's probably joking remark about Erasmus's picture means nothing, outside of the slender authority of such a *Table Talk* report.

When Luther called Erasmus Lucian or an Epicurean (p. 387), he had no reference to his ways of living (the Humanist was as abstemious as the Reformer) but to his views on free will, to his satire, wit, etc. It is of no use to give an authority so late as Wetstein for Beza's and Farel's opinion of Erasmus unless Wetstein's own authorities are given. If he does not give any, his testimony is worthless. If the "common consent of the world" makes Rabelais and Voltaire the "legitimate offspring" of Erasmus (p. 392), that consent is utterly mistaken, as their spirit was vastly different. While Pastor's judgment on the influence of Erasmus (p. 393) is right, if he means by "preparing the way" for Luther that he influenced his development he is wrong, as that development up to 1517 or even later was quite independent of our Humanist. Judgment as to whether and how far the latter influenced this man or that towards or away from Luther (p. 393) is exceedingly precarious. St. Peter Canisius, as is common, greatly exaggerates the revolutionary and violent character of Luther (p. 394), who was one of the most conservative Reformers that ever lived. The *Enchiridion* was written for laymen, not clergymen (p. 397). The reason why Erasmus's edition of the Greek Testament eventually was superseded was not because other editions were "more to the popular taste" (p. 404), but because they were more exact or critically valuable.

Madison, N.J.

J. H. FAULKNER.

A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1847. By J. R. FLEMING, D.D. Sometime Minister at Bellshill and Newcastle-on-Tyne, and General Secretary of the Presbyterian Alliance. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1927. Pp. x, 276. Price \$3.50.

This is a study of a thirty-year section of Scottish Church History by one abundantly able to write upon it. Dr. Fleming's zeal for a unified Church in his own land is evinced all through this work, also by its dedication "To the Re-united Scottish Church of the Future." Beginning with the Disruption of May 18, 1843, to which a whole chapter is given, the next three chapters cover each decade, the last (Chap. V) dwelling especially on the efforts for unity and freedom in the period of 1863-1874. Each chapter is supplied at its close with a list of authorities consulted. Four appendices of documentary character and a good index terminate the account.

Into the detail of these chapters it is scarcely necessary to go. The hard

struggles of Scottish Church History are pretty well known. The National or Established Church, the Free Church, the United Presbyterians, the Cameronian "Covenanters" or Reformed Presbyterians, the United Free Church, and so on. Controversies raging around the relation of Church and State, the Sabbath, the use of organ and hymn-book, printed prayers and forms, communion wine and temperance, church architecture, theological innovations, revivalism, etc.

There are those who will not agree with the author in some of his statements, as, for instance, where, in his discussion of the basis of membership in the Evangelical Alliance, he says that the old basis will have to be revised, adding: "The polemics of bygone controversies will have to be eschewed, and the evangelical spirit rather than a fixed evangelical formula made the test of membership" (p. 76). This does not impress us as a mark of any great wisdom. It may be difficult to formulate accurately the spirit of an organization, but it is scarcely the part of wisdom to discard the formula altogether. As long as a formula represents what an organization stands for, it cannot be a needless thing. And what is to hinder a truly evangelical spirit expressing itself definitely in an evangelical formula? The author, it seems to us, here slips all too easily into the vague, hazy, mysticism of our time, which prefers to be as indefinite and non-committal as possible. Again, to imply that Fergus Ferguson was "sound on the fundamentals of the faith," but was "not prepared to keep within the lines of confessional phraseology" (p. 226), is, in our judgment, to confuse truth with error. (See the October, 1924, number of this REVIEW, Vol. XXII, pp. 662-664.)

To the Moody and Sankey meetings in Scotland in 1874, Dr. Fleming gives a well-deserved honor. Indeed, they helped to save the day. "The secret why Scotland retained its evangelical belief and practice notwithstanding the inevitable impact of modern theological ideas is to be found in the influences that culminated in the Moody and Sankey revival at home with its far-reaching consequences abroad" (p. 230). "One cannot fail to see a Providence in the fact that it came to strengthen the evangelical foundations just before they had to stand the shock of the critical attacks on what seemed to many the necessary outworks" (p. 237; cf. pp. 210, 230-237). We quote this without further comment.

Lancaster, Ohio.

BENJAMIN F. PAIST.

Aspects of Scottish Church History. Lectures delivered on the Calvin Foundation in the Free University of Amsterdam, March 1927. By DONALD MACLEAN, D.D., Professor of Church History, Free Church College, Edinburgh; Author of "The Law of the Lord's Day in the Celtic Church," etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1927. Pp. xi, 184. Price \$2.

These five lectures emphasize special aspects of the history of the Scotch Church in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and on into our present century. The author's position is that of a conservative evangelical, or, to speak more plainly, a Calvinist. In

the Broad Church party today in the Church in Scotland, with its lack of sympathy with historical Calvinism and its substitution of sociology and ethics for the Christian Gospel, the author sees only a recrudescence of eighteenth-century Moderatism, but anxious souls are beginning to call a halt (pp. 129-132).

Professor Maclean notes that "Humanism merely helped Calvin to give literary expression to this theology, but it did not create that theology" (p. 9). He thinks Ritschlianism is today dominating the larger churches in Scotland (p. 144), but that Pragmatism is no longer a live issue (p. 152), and that while some churches have adjusted themselves to the Darwinianism of the nineteenth century, supposing themselves thus to be completely up-to-date, Darwinianism actually survives only as a speculative theory (p. 149). Nor is the destructive critical school, with its "accepted" and "assured" results, unopposed in the ranks of present-day Scotch scholarship (Lect. V). The old Scottish Sabbath is fast disappearing, with apparently nothing adequate to take its place, and religious education appears to be in a flux.

The author well observes that through John Knox, Calvin, without ever setting foot on Scottish soil, "contributed more than any other person to the formation of Scottish character" (p. 29). He singles Calvin out as the one man who fundamentally altered events and stemmed the tide of sixteenth century absolutism (pp. 51-52). And while theology in Scotland has fallen on evil days, and Scotland is at a low-water mark spiritually (pp. 106, 143), yet over 80 per cent of the Scottish people are Presbyterian, much of Scottish piety is evangelical, and "the outlook for Calvinism in Scotland appears reassuring" (pp. 120, 171-179). The Bible "is still read in Scotland as the divinely inspired Book of God which actually means what it says" (p. 173). "True Calvinists all over the world are gradually coming nearer each other, and they are becoming more conscious of their common task and stronger in the fulfilling of it" (p. 175).

The statement (p. 88) that John Witherspoon became Principal of Princeton Seminary, is a slip. He was head of what is now Princeton University. He died in 1794, and Princeton Theological Seminary was not founded until 1812. (See *Princeton Seminary Centennial*, 1912).

The rare art of *multum in parvo* is evident in these brief lectures. They are a frank and remuneratively sifting survey of Scottish Church History. They constitute a concise, first-hand answer to the question of the past of a great Church, its present intellectual and spiritual status, and its future outlook. This book suggests that the half has not been told. Before anyone gives final pronouncement on the Scottish Church of today, it might be well to consult the findings of this brochure.

Lancaster, Ohio.

BENJAMIN F. PAIST.

Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History. By ADOLF DEISSMANN.

Translated by William E. Wilson, B.D., Professor of New Testament Theology and Christian Ethics in the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham. New York: George H. Doran Company.

The opening sentence in this book by Dr. Deissmann, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Berlin, gives the secret of why there are so many books about Jesus and Paul. He says, "Two names contain in themselves the primitive history of Christianity: the names of Jesus and Paul." Paul is spiritually the greatest power of the Apostolic Age. He labored more, and not only labored more, but created more than all the others. Therefore, the others recede behind him, and therefore the historian as he surveys the beginning of Christianity, sees Paul as first after Jesus.

Just as the search for the historic Jesus has sometimes resulted in the creation of a Jesus absolutely unknown to history, a sheer figment of the imagination, so also, the effort to get back to Paul has sometimes resulted in the creation of a character of whom the New Testament and ancient history knows absolutely nothing. We are not sure, but we take for granted, that Dr. Deissmann himself wrote the statement of the author's aim printed on the jacket of this book. Here it is said, "Paul indeed is regarded today as gloomy as well as great. But the darkness is largely due to the bad lamps of our studies, and the modern condemnations of the Apostle as an obscurantist who corrupted the simple gospel of the Nazarene with harsh and difficult dogmas, are the dregs of doctrinaire study of Paul, mostly in the tired brains of gifted amateurs."

We are glad to know that Dr. Deissmann at least does not subscribe to the popular theory that St. Paul took the simple peasant preacher of Galilee and turned him into the great High Priest who offers Himself upon the altar as a sacrifice for the sins of the world, and changed the simple precepts of this simple Jesus, as we have them in the Gospels, into a mass of speculative doctrines about sin and salvation and faith which Jesus Himself never taught. It is at least refreshing to take up a book on St. Paul in which we are not told at the very beginning that Paul threw the Church off the right track, and that the first necessity is to rid ourselves of his influence, abandon his doctrines and go back to Jesus.

Perhaps the most important part of this book is the series of chapters on Paul the Christian. There is much in these chapters, such as the somewhat recondite discussion of a cult, its origin, its meaning, and its influence, which certainly will weary the brains of those whom Dr. Deissmann describes as "gifted amateurs," in this field. The author discovers two main types of cults behind which he says, "the battle of shadowy giants, champions in the hoary strife between works and faith, between man's will and God's Grace, is fought out. The evangelical cult and service is acceptance, an acceptance of good things from God. On the other hand, the legal cult is an offer: we offer and present our good things to God. But it is utterly impossible for us to offer anything to God unless we have already been reconciled and born again." "The whole history of Christian religious life," says Deissmann, "can be understood from this point of view as the struggle of the reacting against the acting cult, and this struggle has its eternal exemplar in the conflict between Law and Faith which Paul lived through and wrestled through." There

is no doubt that to have an adequate understanding of St. Paul, his personality, his religious experience and his written messages, we must have clearly before us this struggle between law and faith through which Paul himself wrestled, and echoes of which struggle we are able to catch everywhere in his life and in his writings.

We like the tribute which the author pays to Christianity as a living life, and, as he calls it, a "reacting Christ cult"; but we cannot go along with him when he says that, as such, Christianity requires no historical justification. We recall a saying of Dr. Patton that if our faith were ruled out of the court of reason, it would have little value in the court of action and experience. And we recall another saying by a well-known writer in the field of the New Testament, that Christianity cannot be at the same time historically false and ethically beautiful and true. No enthusiasm for a Christianity as a life, and no recognition of the present and working power of God's Spirit in the Church should move us to discount the great historic facts which are the foundation of the Church and of our hope.

Dr. Deissmann makes no effort to explain away the tremendous transaction on the road to Damascus; but says, rather, that Damascus was the beginning of the indwelling Christ of Paul's creed—Christ lives in me; God revealed His Son in me. That overwhelming experience is clearly recognized as the foundation upon which is builded Paul's great career and laborious accomplishments. In a fine paragraph he says of this conversion of Paul, "So the lightning of Damascus strikes no empty space, but finds deep in the soul of the persecutor plenty of inflammable material. We see the flame blaze upwards, and after a generation we can still feel that the glow then kindled has lost none of its power in the man grown old: Christ is in Paul, Paul in Christ."

Pittsburgh, Pa.

CLARENCE E. MACARTNEY.

Minucius Felix and His Place among the Early Fathers of the Latin Church. By the Rev. HARRY JAMES BAYLIS, M.A., D.D. London: S.P.C.K.; New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Company (1928). Pp. viii + 376.

The *Octavius* is a little work full of interest and charm, and the important but vexed question of its date has given rise to a voluminous, bewildering, and on the whole rather indecisive literature. The time had come for a fuller and more up-to-date review of the whole question than can be found in the standard handbooks, or in special treatises. This desideratum Dr. Baylis has supplied in a very satisfactory manner, nor does his book lack originality. In the preface he states his purpose thus: "It is hoped that a number of points . . . brought into view will prove of some interest to the general theological reader, that those who are taking Minucius in Divinity courses . . . will find a useful companion to their studies, and that our patrologists will at least be led to consider afresh whether the author of the *Octavius* has not the right to be considered 'primus Latinorum' in place of Tertullian."

The book consists of two parts: the first treating of the dialogue itself,

the second of Minucius' place in the history of Christian Latin literature. Part I (pp. 1-200) contains five chapters: The 'Octavius' and its Author, The Pagan Case, The Reply of the Christian, Stoicism and the 'Octavius,' The Objective of Minucius; Part II (pp. 201-360) contains chapters on the date of the dialogue, on its relation to the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian, and on the theory that both these works drew from a common source. There are two indices: one general, the other of the editors and commentators of the *Octavius* cited in the book. If the author, instead of considering that the indication of his principal sources made the addition of a bibliography unnecessary (p. v), had furnished a full and classified bibliography of the literature, he would have laid students in this field under an even greater debt of gratitude.

In Part I the following matters should be noticed. On p. 2 is the statement: "So the friends set out for a holiday. . . . At daybreak the party arrived at the outskirts of the town [Ostia], when happening to see a statue of Serapis . . . , Caecilius . . . throws the image a reverential kiss." This implies that Caecilius and his friends had travelled during the night, and had arrived at Ostia at daybreak. An examination of the dialogue (especially ch. I, §§3 and 4; and ch. II, §2) will show that a more probable interpretation of the passages in question is that the party reached their destination, perhaps the preceding evening, spent the night at some house on the landward side of Ostia, and then in the morning started to walk through the town down to the seashore. On p. 58 the reference to Colombo's article should read "*Didaskaleion*, 1924, pp. 79-121." On p. 60 the reference to Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, I, p. 488 is given thus, *op. cit.* p. 488, although according to Index II, this is the first reference to the work in question (cf. p. 190, note 2). Dr. Baylis is not quite consistent in giving his references (this, however, is of no great importance), and he is unduly addicted to the use of the annoying *op. cit.*

The general reader will be interested chiefly in the first part of this book, the scholar will concentrate his attention on the second part.

"Beyond the general desirability that an interesting early work should be assigned with some certainty to an approximate date, there are special reasons why this should be done for the *Octavius*, namely, that its Latinity should be placed in correct position in the historical development of the Latin language . . . , that its apologetic and doctrinal significance should be estimated exactly in the history of primitive Christianity, and that a valuable point may be decided . . . , whether Minucius is the first Latin apologist extant and his dialogue the real beginning of Latin Christian literature, or whether that honor rests with Tertullian" (p. 201). In attempting to determine the date of the *Octavius* and its place in Latin Christian literature, besides general considerations two special problems arise: the question of the relation of the dialogue to the *Apologeticus* (which was written in A.D. 197), and the possibility that instead of one of these works being dependent on the other, both go back to a common source.

In Chapter VI Dr. Baylis argues sanely and persuasively for the

view that Minucius wrote the dialogue some dozen years after it had taken place (pp. 202-205), makes out a very strong case for dating it in the latter years of the reign of Antoninus Pius (pp. 205-266 and pp. 272-273), and gives a convincingly destructive critique of the attempt to identify the Caecilius of the *Octavius* with Caecilius Natalis of Cirta known from inscriptions (pp. 266-272). The examination of the question of the most likely date for the composition of the dialogue (pp. 205-266) is well documented and very full. In a review it would be neither possible nor profitable to examine the various points in detail. Roughly the author's method is this: he states fairly the arguments of those who would assign the work to a later date—particularly the arguments of Harnack—and, while refuting them in detail, advances cogent reasons in favor of the position he himself holds.

"Harnack deliberately set aside the question of the internal relationship of the *Octavius* and the *Apologeticus* as a forlorn hope in the discussion for the determination of the date of the former, but as his reasons do not oblige us to believe that Minucius cannot have written before 197, it is . . . proper to see what there is in this old priority controversy." There "can be no doubt of the coincidence in ideas, arguments, treatment, examples, and often in expression, so that dependence of some sort is patent and too close to be accounted for by the explanation that both authors had to meet the same objections and circumstances. Neither, however, cites the other, and therefore the question naturally arises, which was the plagiarist?" (p. 274).

"Coming to the detailed comparison, a word or two of caution is necessary. As far as is humanly possible the critic must clear his mind of merely personal impressions, and of bias in favour of an opinion of priority. . . ." On pp. 277-280 "will be found a table of the more obvious parallel passages in Minucius and Tertullian, compared in some cases with Cicero, from which a few of the most useful instances" are selected (pp. 276-277).

"For the purpose of clearer illustration four degrees of comparison in some of the . . . parallel passages may conveniently be adopted: (a) the simple comparison between [the] *Octavius* and the *Apologeticus* only, (b) the triple comparison with the addition of Latin sources, (c) the triple comparison including the *ad Nationes* of Tertullian, and (d) the quadruple comparison between the *Octavius*, *Apologeticus*, the *ad Nationes*, and the books of Cicero" (p. 280). The bulk of Chapter VII consists of a careful examination of a formidable array of illustrative parallel passages and of scholars' views in regard to them. The weight of the evidence inclines strongly in favor of the priority of the *Octavius*.

To complete his work, Dr. Baylis gives a painstaking review of the "Common Source Theory" in Chapter VIII. The conclusion of the whole matter is briefly this: "The studies stimulated by the search for this old and hypothetical writer have caused the whole relationship of the early apologists, both Latin and Greek, to each other to be more thoroughly investigated, and from them has come the proof, not of a common Latin or even Greek source, but of a common tradition, which had

its roots in the first preaching of the Christian faith in the Gentile world" (p. 358). "All these somewhat hackneyed conventionalities were doubtless familiar enough to Minucius and Tertullian . . . and herein consists their family likeness in so many places. When, however, those correspondences are approached which are so literal as to exclude an intermediary, even the hypothesis of a common and informal tradition cannot disturb the conclusion . . . that Minucius served as a model for Tertullian" (p. 359).

In this book Dr. Baylis has shown sober judgment, keen analytical power, ingenuity, and an enviable grasp of a baffling and extensive literature. The burden of proof is on those who disagree with him.

Princeton.

HOLMES V. M. DENNIS, 3D.

SYSTEMATICAL THEOLOGY

The Nature of Deity, a sequel to *Personality and Reality*. By J. E. TURNER, M.A., PH.D., Reader in Philosophy in the University of Liverpool. The Oxford University Press. 1927. Price, \$3.50.

This volume constitutes one of the most outstanding contributions in the recent literature of purely philosophical discussion of the subject of theism. The work is at no point theological, that is, Biblical material is strictly excluded from a place in the thought architecture. Dogma and authority are strictly left to their own sphere. Reason, in its most thorough and diligent application to the sphere of scientific and psychological data has elaborated the conclusions and attained the meritorious concepts found in the work. The work is to be admired in that upon such purely secular territory so positive and worthy a theism should be attained with such a limited method and so circumscribed a field for induction.

The significance of the work lies in the fact that it suggests the return of modern philosophy as such to more distinctively theistic modes of thought. The recent movement of theology in the persons of Karl Barth and Rudolph Otto in Germany to theocentric orientations seems to have here found its analogue in the field of purely secular philosophy. Whatever the weaknesses—many as they are, from the theologian's viewpoint—we must pause at the outset to voice admiration for the way in which the author, unaided by revelation, has attacked subjectivism, refuted idealism, asserted realism and traversed a great part of the way that leads to the old theism. The publisher's characterization, when taken relatively, is not inapt; "the results are in marked contrast with the negative and agnostic conclusions which have hitherto been prominent in this field of controversy." It is not unreasonable to hope that other modern philosophers may be led to a similar reorientation of their ultimate principles and follow on in the same direction.

It is understood that the author's viewpoints and thinking have already received, in Great Britain particularly, very considerable notice

and evoked much favorable discussion. This pertains to the precursor of the present work, *Personality and Reality*, as much as to *The Nature of Deity*. In the latter the *existence* of deity was rationally demonstrated. In the former, the nature or attributes of deity is discussed, following closely upon the process of thought in the former work. Quotations and innumerable footnote references to *Personality and Reality* abound in the present work.

Another feature of the work calls forth interest. What has for some time been expected and desired is the reshaping of the modern neo-realism into lines more conformable to the old Scottish realism. American critical realism and Bertrand Russell's realism have been couched in a radical metaphysical scepticism. The author, however, definitely parts company with both (p. 127). In common with all realism he holds that knowledge refers to and adequately represents the objective world. At the very outset of the book he postulates as the basis for its argumentation, "the real existence of the material or physical world *as* such, (that is, as not in any sense nor degree mental)"—a most refreshing viewpoint to encounter. It is termed by him the "theory of direct realism."

In his psychology the author inveighs against the mechanical and deterministic views of the ego, and champions vitalism, freedom of the self, and the existence of personality as above and different from material laws and forces. He thus parts company with the American realism which construes the mind as a mere factor; it is a "real" but qualitatively and metaphysically not essentially different from the objective "reals" with which it has objective and purely external relations. It is hoped that the old philosophy of realism here more apparently approximated than in most philosophical works of the hour may find repeated and more extensive recognition.

A critical testing, however, of the purely philosophical work before us reveals serious omissions, inadequacies and errors. The first lies in the method, which is almost exclusively rationalistic, as over against the mystical, moral, intuitionist and authoritarian methods. In so far as it is the intellectual method, following as he terms it, the "laws of thought," it, to be sure, contrasts favorably with the prevailing anti-intellectualism and Ritschlian sentimentalism in religious and theistic thought. However, the serious limitation in the method consists in the fact that the rationalizing is almost entirely of an objective, externalistic sort; to use the old terminology it is *a posteriori* as opposed to *a priori* in nature. The old deductive and highly *a priori* method of Samuel Clarke is what the work stands in need of. The method is, in the nature of the case, brought to bear upon a very limited sphere of data, namely, the scientific facts and analogies in the spheres of empirical science, aesthetics, and psychology.

Secondly, the dominating theme along with that of the reality of the outer physical world, is that of the "law" of evolution, extended to the sphere of mind, culture, civilization, and the race. Postulating it at the

outset as an axiom, the author's most valued and original thinking gathers around the application of this idea. For example, the theological dogma that evil in the world is being and will be overcome by good is ventured throughout on the basis of this supposed axiom. The use of this unverified speculation destroys the trustworthiness and validity of the main body of reasoning, analogical inferences, and conclusions made in the treatise. The phenomenon of progress and development in most, if not all, of these spheres can not be gainsaid, and it indeed has the suggestive value that the author makes such thoroughgoing use of it in his argumentation. But this is far different from a *necessary* progress according to law, such as evolution requires. Moved throughout by this view the author ascribes far too much analogical value and logical force to the theistic inferences drawn from the phenomena of progress.

Thirdly, as to the theology of the treatise much is left to be desired. Over against the finitist theology of the time it is refreshing to see the infinity, the eternity, the unity and the absolute omniscience of God lucidly and strongly expounded and defended. We have veritable suggestions of the theological text-book in statements like this: "The knowledge possessed by Deity must thus be conceived as perfect or infinite, in the sense of being all-comprehensive, absolutely certain and instantaneously intuitive,—these three characteristics being still further coexistent: whence it follows that as being final and complete it is unchanging or external" (p. 64). Such loftiness of theistic attainment constitutes that element of the book which we perforce must commend.

But, on the other hand, the discussions of the attribute of holiness, of the doctrine of the atonement, of the nature of sin and evil, and of divine justice remove it almost entirely from the theological level and place it upon a purely speculative and naturalistic level. Divine justice is, for example, "that inflexibility of universal law which is manifested throughout nature and thought, aesthetics and ethics." What has been termed the optimistic view of evil, namely, that it serves as a foil for the development of virtue and exists as a necessary ground for good is championed. Divine Sovereignty in the Calvinistic sense, is repudiated, and divine love and fatherhood substituted. The fatherhood of God is of course described as universal. The notion is built up upon the analogy of the relation of iron filings to a magnet, exhibiting the abject poverty of theological feeling, resources and biblical content. The concept of Atonement, though given a separate chapter, has hardly even a suggestive value.

The work might be summed up as a desperate attempt to accomplish by the sheer *lumen naturae* what Bishop Butler presupposing Revelation, once did so classically in his *Analogy*. But on purely philosophical grounds it does remain as an interesting endeavor, and exhibits to what heights the natural reason both can and can not attain standing alone.

The book is unusually clear and logical, and quite void of any technicalities.

Princeton.

F. D. JENKINS.

Religion and Natural Law. The Hulsean Lectures delivered at Cambridge in November 1922 and January 1923. By C. F. RUSSELL, M.A., Headmaster of King Edward VI School, Southampton. Milwaukee, Wis.: Morehouse Publishing Co. Pp. 150. Price \$1.25.

The spirit and purpose of this little book is to show that certain central Christian doctrines such as the Trinity, Providence, and Forgiveness may be "held in this twentieth century without surrendering in the least degree the passion for intellectual honesty." Again the author writes, "I am bold enough to hope that my readers will find in this book one more piece of evidence which gives the lie to the most unjust opinion . . . that the work of the modernist is simply destructive." The writer lays claim for the rôle of an "apologist," which is the wonted rôle of the Hulsean Lecturer. The lectures are addressed, not to theological experts, the senior members of the University, but to students and "through them to the wider circle of young men and women elsewhere." A very extensive review of the book can therefore hardly be expected.

As the leading expressions quoted from the author intimate, the position assumed is that of thoroughgoing modernism. The "apologist" for Christian truth becomes, in the pages that follow, a deeply dyed renegade to that truth.

In the final chapter on "The Doctrine of the Trinity" we find displayed a choice bit of the effeteness of modern theologizing unworthy to be dignified by notice in a Christian periodical but for its solemn lesson and portrayal of the condition of a world which, at his own time, our Lord lamented knew Him not. The holy Trinity is for the lecturer, *in nuce*, Law, Love, and Truth. Otherwise expressed, it is God in nature, God in history or society, and God in human reason. The following cavalier flourish concludes the first chapter, "the churches should give practical effect to their faith as expressed in the doctrine of the Trinity. 'Hear ye, O Israel, the Lord our God'—the God of natural law, the God of the social order, the God of reason—"The Lord is one.'" One God in three distinct relationships to the world and man constitutes the doctrine. Outright Sabellianism, of course, is the charge. The author disclaims such an "obnoxious" label, laying hold upon a sophistic quibble to differentiate his view therefrom, to the effect that the modes of deity in Sabellianism were temporary whereas in his own view they are permanent. The essential point of Sabellianism, however, is its unitarianism. Since the author holds this point, the distinction from Sabellianism is, if at all, *in specie*, not *in re*. The orthodox formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity was, it is maintained, purely an expression based upon religious experience, not a "systematic statement of the theological truth" based on the New Testament. For there we find no personal distinctions. To understand the ancient formulation then, we must seek to find and understand the *experience* of the men who framed them.

As would be expected, the second chapter, on the doctrine of "Divine Providence" denies the doctrine of supernaturalistic intervention in miracles. The third and fourth chapters on "Punishment and Forgiveness," and "Atonement and Suffering" go hopelessly astray, building upon a

weakened doctrine of sin and of Hell. As described, Hell is not a condition of permanent punishment, but a symbol of moral "surgery" and an instrument of "education" in the hands of a God of love.

The lecture lacks depth, is very abstruse at points and full of generalizations. In its method of illustration it is often very commonplace. It characterizes more a preacher than a lecturer, and hardly seems capable of being placed upon a historic lecture foundation such as the Hulsean.

Princeton.

F. D. JENKINS.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

My Faith in Jesus Christ. By JAMES M. GRAY, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co.

This volume is a collection of addresses and articles prepared by the author for special occasions. They cover a wide range and embrace the fundamental facts of our Christian faith. The Person of God, the Deity of Jesus, the Virgin Birth, Gethsemane, the Atonement, the Bodily Resurrection, the Life of our Ascended Lord, the Second Coming of Christ, and the Church as His Body, are among the subjects treated. Dr. Gray has stood forth for many years as one of the ablest defendants of the faith once delivered to the saints. This volume is not an attempt to present something new in the sphere of apologetics but rather to stir up the mind of the reader by way of remembrance of the solid grounds upon which Christian faith rests. This he does in his usual masterly and convincing style in each chapter. The author is a trumpet that gives no uncertain sound and he calls to prepare for battle in days when unbelief is denying every fact for which historical Christianity stands. The book will be a tonic to many whose faith is weak and wavering and it is the reviewer's hope that it may have a wide circulation among those who are halting between two opinions.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

STUART NYE HUTCHISON.

Herbert Booth, A Biography. By FORD C. OTTMAN. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co.

In the religious history of modern times there are few chapters more interesting than that having to do with the rise of the Salvation Army. Starting at Mousehole, a tiny fishing village on the coast of England, in 1863, in a shabby little room and on the streets, the tramp of the marching feet of the Army that followed William and Catherine Booth has been heard in every continent and its influence has been felt in every corner of the earth.

One cannot read the story of the founders of the Army without stirring of heart. There are dark pages, however, in the record. Wesley left the church of his fathers because he felt there was no room in it for the play of his free spirit. In the same way William Booth came out from the organization established by Wesley because he was "impatient of dictation by men whose judgment he considered inferior to his own

and, shaking off his ecclesiastical harness, he made a bolt for freedom." Later on his own children, wearying of the absolute control which their father had imposed on the Army, resigned and left it. As one of them expressed it, "I do not think that you will ever get intelligent and able men to acquiesce for long in a system so exacting in which they themselves are denied the right to participate."

Herbert Booth, whose name is the subject of this volume, was the fifth child of William and Catherine Booth. The book itself is not so much a biography as the story of the revolt of the Booth family from the autocratic methods, first of the father, William Booth, and later on of his son, Bramwell, who succeeded him in the supreme command of the Army. Herbert Booth, like his brothers and sisters, was devoted to the organization founded by his father and gave to it everything he possessed. His separation from it after years of loyal service was solely in order that he might serve God according to the dictates of his own conscience. One searches his correspondence in vain for the slightest sign of pettiness or self-seeking. Several forces united to produce the chasm between the son and father which grew wider as the years went on. First, Herbert more than any of the other children had inherited his father's imperious temperament which years before had refused to brook the autocratic control of the church from which he came out. In his young manhood Herbert was sent out to take charge of the Army, first in Canada and then in Australia. There in the freer, more democratic atmosphere of the Dominions he grew still more restive under the system of which he was a part. It became increasingly irksome that every movement of the organization he was supposed to direct should be subject to the control of men thousands of miles away, who knew nothing at all of the conditions under which he was laboring.

To us it seems strange that William Booth, to whose ability and consecration the whole world pays tribute, could not have been a little wiser in his day and generation. The defection of Ballington, Catherine and Evangeline was sufficient, it would seem to us, to have led him to a great searching of heart and purpose. In the early days of the Army when it was recruited solely from the dregs of society it needed the iron hand of a despot, but later on when it included in its ranks men and women of conspicuous gifts of leadership he still refused to grant them any share in its direction. William Booth was a general but not a statesman. If his great power of command could have been supplemented by the wise diplomacy of his children, the story of the Salvation Army might have been far different.

Dr. Ottman has made a valuable contribution to the religious history of our times in revealing to us so much of the history of the Booths. With gifts of mind and heart that would have made them outstanding figures in any sphere of life, they all of them voluntarily gave themselves to the poverty and hardship of the Salvation Army. Herbert, in many respects the most gifted of them all, literally "counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, our Lord." In these days of easy going and lines of least resistance it is soul inspiring

to study the life of one who like Abraham went out not knowing whither he went and who with faith and hope followed that lonely road to the end.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

STUART NYE HUTCHISON.

Offices of Mystical Religion. Compiled and edited by WILLIAM NORMAN GUTHRIE, Rector of St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie, New York. The Century Co. Pp. xxxi, 416.

If mysticism is a "flight of the alone to the Alone," or, as Dr. Rufus Jones defines it, "a first-hand experience of direct intercourse with God," diction of "offices," rituals or liturgies for mystical use is almost a contradiction in terms. It is certainly true that solitude rather than society, simplicity rather than pageantry, and silent meditation rather than dramatic representation, are the requisite antecedents to the mystical mood. Although the elaborate rituals of Catholicism are sometimes spoken of as mystical offices, as a matter of fact they are as far away from the spirit of mysticism as worship can well get. The silent and meditative Quaker, in solitude even when in "meeting," comes nearer the mark. But "mysticism" is, after all, a loosely-used word, and a much misused word, which beforehand gives very little idea of what its user is getting at. In this particular case the author by its use seems to imply an attempt by pageantry to create in a body of worshippers the mystical mood.

Such an attempt is hard to judge, apart from its setting of church and congregation, music and performers; but that any ecclesiastical pageantry is effective in creating a spirit of true worship is at the least debatable. Even a Protestant can get a thrill out of watching the celebration of high mass, or any other well-staged bit of religious theatricality, but God, I am afraid, is not brought closer to the human soul by thrills.

In this age of jazz it was perhaps natural for the time to come when rituals hallowed by age, dignified by the simplicity of archaic speech, and rich in the poetry of the past, should lose their appeal; and newer and more lively measures be demanded by at least some of the lovers of ritualism. The pageantries of St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie may be a symptom of this modern restlessness, an expression in the religious realm of the spirit of jazz, a cubist interpretation of man's communion with his Maker. At least, like cubism, Dr. Guthrie's effort has been to get behind the classical expressions of worship, and to reinterpret religion in terms of the primitive.

Back of the "offices" and inspiring them there is, of course, a faith, of a sort. Briefly culled from the introduction, that faith, so far as it has to do with the offices of religion, is that "religion is an art," (p. ix) which attempts to satisfy our spiritual needs. (He should, by the way, have written *worship* rather than *religion*, but that apart.) This satisfaction modern rituals no longer provide, because "our dogmatic and sophisticated religion is moribund" (p. x). In action, it is "a mass of obsolete apparatus," and new apparatuses are needed.

It is, perhaps, a characteristic of our age that individuals set out to supply by their own genius what heretofore only long generations have

slowly achieved by a process of almost unconscious creative growth. Anyhow, "an effort must be made to save religion before this critical extreme (of petrified doctrines, intuitions and pious imagination) is reached" (p. xiii). Dr. Guthrie makes that effort by going—as he supposes—back of religion to its primitive bases, and through the unsophisticated primitive attempting to recreate for our own sophisticates man's search for God. An ambitious effort, as remarkable in its way as the cubists' attempt to paint nature and man in Cro-Magnon terms rather than with the art hallowed by Rembrandt and Raphael.

Throughout the Offices one glimpses, and at times comes into paralyzing contact with, Dr. Guthrie's theology. For instance, part of the "Interpretative Allocution" of the remarkable "Christmas" office, "Children of the Zodiac," tells us: "Biological evolution has produced an individual whose normal perspective innocently, nay beneficently, assumes himself as the cosmic center," etc. (p. 81). Well, maybe. If that is unfortunately true, it is neither poetic nor provocative of a mystical mood. If one compares that, and much more like it, with the simple, dignified and after all the years still thrilling offices of the good doctor's own Episcopal prayer-book, especially those rituals that are devoted to the Christmas season, one will have a fair basis of judgment as to whether Dr. Guthrie has succeeded in producing a living ritual.

Considered for their mystical worth, perhaps four or five of the offices may be of service to those worshippers whose religious emotions can be touched only by the new. "An Office of Meditation on the New Birth from Above," while inarticulate and garnished with by no means inspired verse, is attractively written, and probably was as attractively presented. The "Oratorio of the Vanished Fear," based on Miss Margaret Wilkinson's fine poem, "The Rapids," is an excellent piece of work—as literature, not as theology. The "Office of the Indwelling Christ" and that of the "Visions of God," being almost wholly in Biblical speech, retain the dignity and sometimes the grandeur that they quote. And the alliterative "Lyric Litany of Mystic Miracles" is not as cloyingly sweet and mannered as its title.

Other offices, however, considered either as pageants or as literature, are not so happily executed. Some, indeed, are hopeless bathos. Taken as a whole, the book is worth reading. As pageants for secular use many of the offices could be staged very successfully. Others have a literary charm that the mannerisms of the author fail to destroy. But as religious offices, one feels that only the most restless and novelty-hunting of our restless age could find anything like worship in them. Moreover, offices so complex, so obscure, and so far removed from the needs and thoughts of average men,—though generally scholarly and sometimes poetic,—can have small appeal to any other audience than the theatrically inclined. The present reviewer feels that the "Order of Devotional Service for American Indian Day," for instance, would make more of an appeal to him from the vaudeville stage than from the chancel of a house of worship.

Lebanon, Pa.

ROBERT CLAIBORNE PITZER.

Christianity or Religion, a Study of the Origin and Growth of Religion and the Supernaturalism of Christianity. By ARNO CLEMENS GAEBELEIN, D.D. Publication Office, "Our Hope," 456 Fourth Ave., New York City. Pp. 176 with Bibliography and Index. Price \$1.50.

In a few opening pages Dr. Gaebelein quotes the leading attempts to define religion, and comments on the universality of it. Then the material is divided into three chapters. First, The Origin and Development of Religion. He states the naturalistic or evolutionary view and gives some arguments in rebuttal. He selects the book, *This Believing World*, by Rabbi Lewis Browne as an illustration of this view, a thoroughly unbelieving work, and yet shocking to say, recommended by *The Christian Century*. He fairly shows this to be "crude and savage," as Rabbi Browne thinks the early Hebrews were. Facing the question in a positive way, Dr. Gaebelein establishes the truth that the savages of today are degenerate types. He does this by the linguistic argument and by the previous existence of Monotheism. That Fetishism was not the religion of primitive man he proves, first, by the fact that the lowest tribes have had a belief in a higher being, and, second, by the mass of scholarly testimony that the great religions of antiquity degenerated into Polytheism. To this is added the Biblical record of the origin of religion, and the constant tendency of men to fall into corrupt forms of worship, a tendency of which Paul speaks in the Epistle to the Romans, first chapter, and that is manifest today.

Chapter Two, "The True Origin and Growth of Religion as Given in the Bible," discusses man created in the image of God, the fall, the promise of redemption and the fact of sacrifice. "The various religious systems came into being when man gave up his knowledge of God, and they are the expressions of the darkened heart of man." God's revelation of Himself to Abraham, the origin of the religion of Israel, is discussed. Here is quoted Rabbi Browne's childish account of Moses choosing a god, and the true statement made that such nonsense is the product of unscientific infidelity. A review of the history of Israel shows that its religion could not be the product of human genius.

Chapter Three, "Christianity," is half of the book. The author shows that Christianity is a supernatural revelation, than which there can be no higher, and discusses seven supernatural facts found in it, namely, its Foundation, Person, Work of Redemption, Survival, Message, Power and Consummation.

This little book may be taken as a compendium of the arguments against the modern liberal position that Christianity is a development from the mind of man, naturalistically considered. The author has read widely and knows the subject. He refers often, as well he may, to the work of Dr. S. H. Kellogg. He is to be thanked for what he has done. The book is easily read and is full of feeling, and will be greatly informing to all who want to have in plain language the real facts on this great question. It would be especially suited to the hundreds who are being deluded by the hurtful errors of rationalism that are being so suavely and confidently broadcasted today. The style is warm and

forcible. It is good to have a book that has in it the beatings of a real heart of Christian faith. We are treated to extended Bible exposition in places.

We are sorry that Dr. Gaebelien draws a distinction in his title, and on page 97, between Christianity and Religion, and asserts that Christianity is not a religion. That seems quite useless. Even though it is a supernaturally revealed Way of Life, it is still a religion. What else can it be? There is the one true and only religion and there are the false and corrupt religions. Another strange statement is that the message of Christianity is contained in the Gospel of John but not in the Synoptists (p. 136). We concede that the mere "teachings" of Jesus Christ on moral subjects do not comprise the full message of Christianity, but we maintain that there is much more than that in the Synoptists,—particularly our Lord's continued self-revelation as to His Messianic Person and Mission, and above all, the marvelously careful account of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, which are the factual foundation, or rather the seed-pod, of all the doctrines of our Gospel. We are devoutly thankful for the wonderful chapters of the Fourth Gospel, but we surely do not depend upon that alone for what Dr. Vos calls, the Self-Disclosure of Jesus.

Burlington, N.J.

FRANK LUKENS.

The Southern Presbyterian Pulpit. Addresses by Ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. Edited by REV. CHARLES H. NABERS. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Pp. 295.

"These sermons represent the pulpit work of a denomination whose ministry and message have been singularly blessed of God. Its witness to the truth is virile, consistent and fruitful." So says the compiler in the Foreword. And Dr. Charles L. Godell says in the "Introduction," "These sermons have in them the grip on the eternal verities. While they are thoroughly up-to-date, they advocate a dateless religion, a Gospel which will find the soul when the stars have gone out." The authors of these twenty-five sermons are among the most distinguished men of the Southern Presbyterian pulpit, widely scattered, some in cities, some in towns, pastors, secretaries, and professors. They are arranged in alphabetical order. A biographical note precedes each one. This is the only defect, for in this way the personal obtrudes too much on the mind of the reader. These notes might better have been collected at the back. One cannot read this book without a strong desire that it be very widely sold, so as to spread and establish the glorious truth that is so much needed today. Seldom are sermons so uniformly good. The Saviour is presented in every one. The language is of a high order, the structures are simple and direct, and the style is devout, and with the personal appeal of hearts filled with the love of God. The themes are vital, and related to the present hour, and show an understanding of the deepest needs of men and women. They call for a pure Church, and individual Christians of spiritual power. It is remarkable that again and again these different men declare the need of a deeper life of faith and a

more honest and heroic service of God. These messages are like sweet bread to those who love the Bible. "How we may be sure," "Christianity a unique religion," "The Everlasting Arms," "Things that cannot be shaken," "What it is to be a Christian," "A soul-winning Church," etc.—an entire denomination hearing such sermons as these will prosper, and the result will be seen in solid evangelism, young men and women entering the ministry and missions, active congregations, and the development of all that is good in the nation.

Burlington, N.J.

FRANK LUKENS.

His Decease at Jerusalem: Meditations on the Passion and Death of Our Lord. By ABRAHAM KUYPER, D.D., LL.D., former Prime Minister of the Netherlands. Translated from the Dutch by John Henry de Vries, D.D. Grand Rapids, Mich.: The Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.

It is cause for gratitude to God that one of the most honored theologians of our time (Dr. Kuyper died in 1920) has given us a book like this, full of the heart's love of a saved sinner bowing at the foot of the cross. It is another proof that true apprehension of the doctrine of sovereign grace goes along with the true experience of its power. As the translator says, it would be difficult to add anything to the noble foreword by the author. Dr. Kuyper says that estrangement from the Passion of our Lord is spiritually impoverishing the Church of Christ. Although the cross is not "pulled down" it is enswathed in mist so that its lines are "softened." The Church must get back to the cross and renew its "sanctified sentiment."

This book is a gem of its kind, as that other book by Dr. Kuyper, *To Be Near Unto God*, is a gem of devotional reading that will last as long as time. The chapters touch upon various aspects of the sufferings of the Saviour, from Gethsemane to the Entombment. Here is penetrating thought, wealth of Biblical reference, deepest reverence, and adoration of the Person of the Redeemer that will be truly to His glory. Here is a great soul who has trembled and wept at the depth and guilt of sin, and appreciates the blood of the Son of God, one who knows what saving faith is, and loves Jesus as only those born again can love Him. May God use this book.

Burlington, N.J.

FRANK LUKENS.

Rough-Hewed, And Other Sermons. By RAYMOND LALOR FORMAN. New York: The Abingdon Press.

Eighteen sermons by the Pastor of St. Paul's Church, New York City. Without undertaking a definite presentation of Christian doctrine, many of the main tenets of the Christian faith are assumed by the author, and woven into a helpful if somewhat Emersonian philosophy of life. The reader will find sympathy, tenderness and humor, but not the evangelistic note.

Lincoln University, Pa.

EDWIN J. REINKE.

The Nest of Spears. By F. W. BOREHAM. New York: The Abingdon Press.

A Temple of Topaz. By F. W. BOREHAM. New York: The Abingdon Press.

Two more books from the pen of Boreham, say rather, from the heart and imagination of a teacher! These are well fitted to rank with their predecessors. The quality of these many books does not deteriorate. Boreham finds God in stones and also lessons for daily living in daily duty and links duty to Christ.

Elkins Park, Pa.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

William Alfred Quayle, the Skylark of Methodism. By Rev. M. S. RICE. New York: Abingdon Press. Pp. 249.

This is an appreciation rather than a biography written by a lifelong friend, the pastor of the large Metropolitan M. E. Church of Detroit. Bishop Quayle, an outstanding figure always in the Methodist Church, was a great popular preacher and because of his great love for Jesus Christ, he was an intense lover of men. It is more than likely that his reputation as a preacher will outlast his work as a bishop. He was of the hardy Manx stock, born on the island of Man. He was brought to this country in childhood and like multitudes found it the land of opportunity. He secured his education through his own efforts and while still a young man became the President of his Alma Mater; but the attraction of the pulpit was irresistible. Like many great preachers he had only one theme—the all sufficiency of Jesus Christ the atoning Saviour and Sanctifier.

Elkins Park, Pa.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

The Call to Prophetic Service, from Abraham to Paul. By HENRY SCHAEFFER, Ph.D., S.T.M., Professor of Biblical Interpretation in the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, at Chicago, Illinois. Foreword by Cleland B. McAfee, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology, McCormick Seminary, Chicago, Ill. New York, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Pp. 459.

The aim of these Biblical studies is to present to the young men of today the high claims and the rich possibilities of the Christian ministry. The author tells us in the Preface: "For some years the present writer has given himself quite definitely to the work of preaching and talking to young men upon the meaning of the prophetic call to the young man of today. The call-experiences of the principal prophets and preachers of the Old and New Testament times are both rich and varied, and full of illustrative themes for the presentation of the claims of the ministry. Believing that the Scriptures are the best guide in such matters, the author of these pages has endeavored, on the basis of a careful study of the facts, to bring out the Biblical view of the call to ministerial service. Five years of delightful exploring in the depths of Scripture have brought to light a veritable mine of exceedingly valuable information and illuminating thought on a highly important and most interesting subject."

In the thirteen chapters Dr. Schaeffer studies the "call" of Abraham, Moses, Samuel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Jonah, John the Baptist, Jesus, the Twelve, and the Apostle to the Gentiles. While the aim is a practical one, there is abundant evidence that the author is acquainted with critical problems and that his conservative views are not in any sense due to ignorance of the conclusions of the destructive criticism. Dr. Schaeffer makes no attempt to explain away the distinctiveness of the prophetic call. His viewpoint is Biblical, not psychological. Thus he declares: "We shall never succeed, by purely psychological means, in unravelling the call-experience of a prophet or preacher and in analyzing it without any residue. Such an experience marks a distinct spiritual crisis in the life of the individual, through which he becomes conscious of his call from God and his mission to the people. In describing the event the prophets do not speak of a resolution or purpose, framed by themselves, to devote themselves to their prophetic task. They would not presume to speak for God on their own authority. They have been divinely commissioned to act as His messengers. Gladly would they evade the call, if they only could. But they are under divine compulsion." To Dr. Schaeffer there is a great difference between the "Thus saith the Lord" of a true prophet and the "I think" of the religious philosopher.

Since Dr. Schaeffer includes Jesus among the prophets, it may be well to point out that this does not mean that he brings Him down to their level. He is *the* Prophet in the preeminent sense, the God-man, the unique revelation of God, the incarnate Son. The Deity of our Lord is recognized and emphasized. Again, since the word "prophetic" is frequently misused, it may be well to note that Dr. Schaeffer recognizes that the "prophetic" ministry of today must rest securely upon the Scriptures. The "Thus saith the Lord" of the ancient prophets finds its counterpart in the "The Bible says so" of the Christian minister and teacher. Dr. Schaeffer fully recognizes, as we might expect a Lutheran to do, the authority and potency of the Word of God.

We have noticed a few statements to which exception may be taken. While rejoicing in Dr. Schaeffer's strong avowal of belief in the virgin birth of Jesus, we doubt whether it is correct to say that the words spoken by Jesus in Luke ii. 49 are intended to "repudiate the paternity of his foster-father evidently referred to in the question addressed to the twelve-year-old" (p. 214). In discussing the call of Jeremiah the statement is made that "predestination, while it turns the will of man in a God-ward direction, does not altogether destroy the ethical factor, which asserts itself here, by way or reaction, to the extent of calling in question the appropriateness and fitness of the divine call." The word "predestination" seems to be used here in a much broader sense than is usually given to it; and the implication is that in the measure that the lives of men are controlled by God they cease to be moral agents. It suggests that predestination is a mild form of fatalism and that if it were thoroughgoing enough it would entirely destroy the freedom of the human agent. The statement is an unfortunate one to say the least and should be corrected in a subsequent edition. Again, to speak of Amos as

"the first outstanding prophet since the time of Samuel" (p. 66) is unjust to those mighty "men of God," Elijah and Elisha. Even if Amos was "the first of the great literary prophets of the eighth and succeeding centuries," it is to be remembered that the New Testament does not speak of "Moses and Amos" but of "Moses and Elijah."

On the whole the book seems to us an admirable one, well calculated to impress young men with the claims and the possibilities of the Christian ministry.

Princeton.

OSWALD T. ALLIS.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

American Church Monthly, New York, September: WALTER LOWRIE, Plea for real Religion; ALBERT C. LARNED, As others see us; ROBERT F. LAU, Lutheran Worship in Germany after the Reformation; DUDLEY D. ZUVER, Cancer as a concept in Theology and Philosophy. *The Same*, October: HOWARD B. ST. GEORGE, Prayer Book revision in the General Convention; J. G. H. BARRY, On getting back to the teaching of Christ; FLOYD W. TOMKINS, The evangelical position; ANGUS DUN, What the Liberal Party stands for; ALFRED NEWBERY, What is a Catholic?; W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, Conversations at Malines.

American Journal of Philology, Baltimore, July: KENNETH SCOTT, Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes, ii; ALLEN B. WEST, Lucilian Genealogy; H. C. NUTTING, Three notes on Juvenal; ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE, Teiresias and the snakes; GRACE H. MACURDY, Basiliinna and Basilissa, alleged title of "Queen Archon" in Athens; OTTO JESPERSEN, Brevity as a criterion of Language.

Anglican Theological Review, Lancaster, July: FREDERICK C. GRANT, Divorce: another view; A. HAIRE FORSTER, St. Patrick in fact and fiction; OSCAR A. MARTI, John Wyclif's theory for disendowment of the English Church; LEONARD HODGSON, Contemporary Philosophy of Religion.

Biblical Review, New York, July: STINUS S. LOFT, Inner Mission movement in Denmark; R. BIRCH HOYLE, Spirit in the writings and the experience of Philo; G. LUVERNO BICKERSTAPH, Roman Catholic Church and the Bible; E. M. MARTINSON, Mission of Joy; GEORGE BREWER, The sure foundation.

Bibliotheca Sacra, St. Louis, July: MELVIN G. KYLE, Archaeological Review—Kirjath Sepher; L. V. BUSCHMAN, Christian Internationalism; G. B. MCCREARY, Value of the Aesthetic Viewpoint; C. F. WISHART, The Lighthouse in the storm; M. G. KYLE, Some fundamentals; L. S. KEYSER, Incarnation of the Son of God; G. M. PRICE, Study of Methods; W. CROWE, Luther at the Diet of Worms.

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought, Toronto, July-August: GEORGE L. HURST, The dramatic element in religion; W. G. JORDAN, Early historical writing; J. A. LINDSAY, The modern attack upon the reason; JOHN LOWE, "Form History" and the Gospels; R. A. HILTZ,

Teaching religion through worship. *The Same*, September-October: J. K. UNSWORTH, Bunyan and Blake—a comparison; C. CLARE OKE, Plea for ministerial candour; W. S. URQUHART, The Old Testament of the Indian Church; W. H. SMITH, Is modern preaching Apostolic?; D. M. PERLEY, Albert Schweizer—a great Christian; W. T. HERRIDGE, Authority and finality of Jesus; GEORGE B. KING, A Jewish dramatic interpretation of Paul; NATHANIEL MICKLEM, Conference in the Wartburg.

Catholic Historical Review, Washington, July: GEORGE C. POWERS, Nationalism at the Council of Constance; J. LLOYD MECHAM, Origins of "Real Patronato de Indias"; ARTHUR ROBERT, Pourquoi Rome a parlé; ZOLTÁN HARASZTI, Medieval Manuscripts.

Church Quarterly Review, London, July: H. C. DOWDALL, The word "Person"; W. LOCKTON, Eucharistic Sacrifice and our Lord's heavenly Priesthood; W. GLYNNE, Psychology and glossolalia—Book of Acts; W. J. FERRAR, Great days of St. Martin de Tours; THEODORE R. ROBINSON, Recent research on the Book of Psalms.

Crozer Quarterly, Philadelphia, July: RUFUS M. JONES, Spiritual life of Baron von Hügel as revealed in his letters; DANIEL EVANS, Theological definition of the authority of Jesus; MORTON S. ENSLIN, Essential principles of Christian morality as gathered from the New Testament; RITTENHOUSE NEISSER, The delayed ministerial student and the study of Greek; GEORGE R. SWANN, A program and platform of a new system of Theism.

Expository Times, Edinburgh, July: R. DUNKERLEY, Gospel according to the Hebrews, i; D. M. BAILLIE, Sermon on Mount, iv; J. RENDEL HARRIS, A lost verse in the Gospel of Mark; W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE, Was St. Paul a stammerer?; A. GORDON JAMES, Jesus our advocate. *The Same*, August: JAMES REID, Sermon on the Mount—Judgment of others; RODERIC DUNKERLEY, Gospel according to the Hebrews, ii; A. T. CADOUX, Resurrection appearances of Jesus; A. T. RICHARDSON, Time-measures of the Pentateuch; W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, Augustine's 'Soliloquies.' *The Same*, September: H. R. MACKINTOSH, Leaders of religious thought—Karl Barth; A. W. F. BLUNT, Sermon on the Mount—Prayer; J. RENDEL HARRIS, Two remarkable glosses in the text of Hebrews; H. C. CARTER, The education of Jesus.

Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, July: KEMPER FULLERTON, Calvinism and capitalism; PAUL E. JOHNSON, Josiah Royce—Theist or Pantheist.

Homiletic Review, New York, July: G. WALTER FISKE, Interesting church ways abroad; WILLIAM L. STIDGER, Democracy in the church staff; CYRUS E. ALBERTSON, Wanted: a new preacher; Broadcasting the church service; JOHN R. SCOTFORD, How many churches does a community need?; GAIUS G. ATKINS, Concerning the blindfold test. *The Same*, August: R. L. HARTT, Art, the other thing and skyscraper churches; R. C. FRANCIS, The minister: despot or democratic leader; WILLIAM L. STIDGER, What I preach; RICHARD H. WRAY, An English bishop on preaching; H. W. C. AINLEY, A recent Greek New Testament; SIDNEY

B. HARRY, The hymn after the sermon; What are ministers' conferences doing? *The Same*, September: EARL DUBBEL, Pilgrim's Progress in the twentieth century; GAIVS G. ATKINS, The significance of Streeter; E. W. BLANK, The lengthy sermon; ERNEST U. DODSON, The other son.

Jewish Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, July: ALEXANDER MARX, The Darmstadt Haggadah; A. MARMORSTEIN, Some hitherto unknown scholars of Angevin, England; SOLOMON ZEITLER, Notes on the relation of the Slavonic Josephus to Josippon; CYRUS ADLER, Abraham Lincoln, the tribute of the synagogue.

Journal of Religion, Chicago, July: VITTORIO MACCHIORO, Orphism and Paulinism; EDWARD S. AMES, Religion and art; SAMUEL G. INMAN, Church and State in Mexico; JOHN T. MCNEILL, Calvin's effort towards the consolidation of Protestantism; HEDLEY S. DIMOCK, Trends in the redefinition of religion; WILHELM PAUCK, Barth's religious criticism of religion.

Journal of Theological Studies, London, July: W. J. ANDERSON, Fragments of an eighth-century Gallican Sacramentary; C. H. TURNER, Marcan usage: notes critical and exegetical on the second gospel, x; W. MICHAELIS, Trial of St. Paul at Ephesus; F. C. BURKITT, Was the gospel of Mark written in Latin?; W. E. BARNES, Prophecy and the Sabbath; C. LATTEY AND F. C. BURKITT, Punctuation of New Testament Manuscripts; R. L. POOLE, A stage in the history of the Laudian Manuscript of Acts; A. H. SAYCE, Hittite and Mitannian elements in the Old Testament.

London Quarterly Review, London, July: WILLIAM EVELEIGH, The colour problem in America and South Africa; CHARLES A. GIMBLETT, Icarus and the philosophers; C. SYDNEY CARTER, The gospel power in the Reformation; THOMAS STEPHENSON, Emergent evolution; J. A. LOVAT-FRASER, John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States; JOHN TELFORD, The uncrowned Queen of Arabia.

Lutheran Church Quarterly, Gettysburg and Philadelphia, July: J. C. MATTES, The White House and the Vatican; M. H. FISCHER, Civil and religious liberty; OLAF MOE, The three main branches of the Lutheran Church; G. L. KIEFFER, European and American methods of calculating Church membership; H. E. JACOBS, Three Lutheran Synods of Eastern Pennsylvania; H. L. BAGGER, Problem of our Theological Seminaries; JEREMIAH ZIMMERMAN, Effective preaching in the twentieth century.

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Ciencia Tomista, Salamanca, Julio-Agosto: ALBERTO COLUNGA, La Realeza de Cristo; ANTONIO TRANCHO, Los fundamentos tomistas de la moralidad; VICENTE BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, El Maestro Fray Domingo Bañez y la Inquisición española. *The Same*, Septiembre-Oct.: ANTONIO FERNÁNDEZ, Mediatione B. Virginis secundum doctrinam D. Thomae; VICENTE BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, El Maestro Fray Domingo Bañez y la Inquisición española; BLAS GONI, El "Pacto Kellogg" a luz del Angelico; JUAN MENENDEZ, Crónica de la filosofía en Mexico.

Etudes Théologiques et Religieuses, Montpellier, Juillet-Oct.: L. DE SAINT-ANDRÉ, La Révision du "Prayer Book" et la crise de l'Eglise anglicane; HENRY LEENHARDT, La science et l'apologétique; GEORGE BOIS, Quelques remarques sur la psychologie de la conversion chez les peuples d'Extrême-Orient.

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CORRIGENDA

P. 402, l. 7. Sentence beginning with "Yet" should be included in preceding quotation.

P. 470, l. 16 (from bot.). Instead of the words "has brought life and immortality to light'?" read "the healing streams of mercy and pity'?"

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